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DEPARTMENTS



on the cover: Detail of ornamental panel from Iran, possibly from the vicinity of Rayy, second half the 12th century, Gypsum plaster; molded, carved, painted, Philadelphia Museum of Art 1929-69-1, shown in *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 25–July 24, 2016). Photo by Alan Roche.

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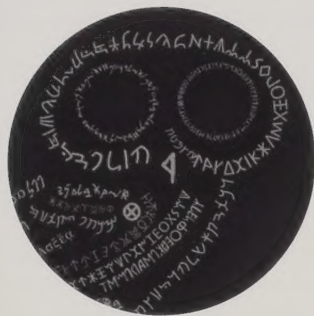
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ANS MAGAZINE

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Director of Publications
Andrew Reinhard

Editor
Peter van Alfen

Advertising Editor
Joanne D. Isaac

Art Director
Lynn Cole

Design
Rocco Piscatello
Piscatello Design Centre

Photographer
Alan Roche

Contributing Staff
Gilles Bransbourg
Bary Bridgewater
Catherine DiTuri
Peter Donovan
Ethan Gruber
Vivek Gupta
Sebastian Heath
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Natalie Jordan
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Elena Stolyarik
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James Woodstock

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The American Numismatic Society, organized in 1858 and incorporated in 1865 in New York State, operates as a research museum under Section 501(c)(3) of the Code and is recognized as a publicly supported organization under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as confirmed on November 1, 1970. The original objectives of the ANS, "the collection and preservation of coins and medals, the investigation of matters connected therewith, and the popularization of the science of Numismatics," have evolved into the mission ratified by the Society's Board in 2003, and amended in 2007.

American Numismatic Society
75 Varick Street, Floor 11
New York, NY 10013

Telephone
212 571 4470

Telefax
212 571 4479

Internet
www.numismatics.org

From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,

Another oppressively hot and humid summer is making subways, streets, and the rest of New York unpleasant, but the Society's staff is working as hard as ever. In June and July, we welcomed eight scholars for the 62nd Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar. This year, we had our first-ever scholar from mainland China who was able to attend the seminar as part of a year-abroad program at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (ISAW) at NYU. I was particularly pleased that Xiaoyan Qi, a talented young woman and expert in the archaeology of Central Asia, was making use of the extraordinary holdings in the Society's collections. (A snapshot of her summer's work recently appeared on our blog, *Pocket Change*, [<http://numismatics.org/pocketchange/qi/>] along with that of some of the other students.)

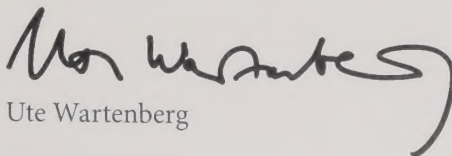
As those of you familiar with the Society know, we have had a long-standing tradition of collecting and research our Islamic and Asian collections, which began with George Miles's curatorial appointment in 1946 and continued with Michael Bates, Emeritus Curator of Islamic Coins. In the last few years, we have concentrated on Roman numismatics, which has led to the highly successful project OCRE on Roman Imperial coins, and thanks to the generous grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, we will have virtually all 70,000 Roman coins fully catalogue and photographed by early next year. It is therefore time to tackle another section of our vast collection, to improve our online cataloguing and to add more digital photographs. The reason we decided to focus on Islamic and Indian coinage is that we were able to find an extremely talented young assistant curator, Vivek Gupta, who joined the Society's staff in early June. You can read his impressive biography in our news section, but more importantly you will see his efforts on our online database MANTIS. He has also already written an article for this issue of the *ANS Magazine*, which discusses among other things an interesting exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art this summer.

As discussed in one of my recent letters, I continue to work with the staff, Trustees and members on getting together a strategic plan for the next few years. I was very pleased to get quite a few emails and phone calls from members, who discussed with me their views on

the ANS's situation and in particular a possible move out of Manhattan. Interestingly, most people who called me, expressed a strong view for remaining in New York, or at least in the North East, if the ANS indeed had to move. At our upcoming Annual Meeting on 29 October, we will discuss our plans in more detail with Fellows and Members. Regarding finances, we are very pleased to report that the ANS received a final payment of over \$2,000,000 from the sale of the building at 140 William Street, which was owed by Kent Swig. The Society and its Trustees are very grateful to Mr. Swig for having settled this debt thereby adding significantly to the Society's assets. The Treasurer, Kenneth Edlow, will be reporting on our finances in October in his report.

I shall close with some sad news. Our beloved friend and patron, Chet Krause, passed away earlier this summer. An obituary will appear in the next *ANS Magazine*. Chet was a wonderful friend, who often came to visit over the last few years. I will miss him a lot, and the Society loses one of its most generous donors, who will not be forgotten. A scholar whom I never met but greatly admired died on August 1, 2016: the Belgian scholar and numismatist Léon Lacroix, who currently holds the honor of having been our oldest member. Born in 1909, he joined the Society in 1946 and was a Corresponding Member until his death. Numismatists clearly enjoy a long life, and we are pleased to have at least one other centenarian in our group with our Honorary Trustee and friend Eric P. Newman. Just last week, another member not so far off the magic 100 years of age, Professor Edward Allworth, donated a very rare coin of Central Asia to the Society. I also received a wonderful letter from Rev. Clark, from whose collection we purchased a few rare Byzantine pieces. Rev. Clark, who was both a collector and at times apparently a dealer, was associated with the Society for 60 years. It is indeed one of the blessings of working in a community of many interesting and eminent people, both young and old, who take such a vivid interest in our Society.

Best wishes,



Ute Wartenberg

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ΚΤΛΛΟΒΣΤΛΕ

THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE: Non-Greek Scripts and Languages on Ancient Greek Coins

Oliver D. Hoover

When Barclay V. Head first published his *Historia Numorum* with the subtitle, *A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, what he was really publishing was a manual for the numismatics of the *oikeumene*—the entirety of the Greek world. The words “Greek numismatics” almost immediately conjure images of quintessentially Greek coins like Athenian owls, Aeginetan turtles, and Corinthian pegasi. However, many coins struck outside of Greece proper—in Italy, Sicily, Macedon, Thrace, and Asia Minor are easily recognizable as Greek as well, through their artistic style and through their use of legends written in the Greek alphabet. Thus it is easy to forget that numerous non-Greek scripts and languages appeared on coins struck over the course of the six centuries (sixth–first centuries BC) normally considered to comprise the age of “Greek numismatics.”¹ The following overview illustrates the very cosmopolitan nature of the Greek world and illustrates the interactions between peoples through language and script, as well as through decisions to use non-Greek scripts instead of or alongside Greek.

Aramaic. This language was originally spoken by the Arameans, a Northwest Semitic people from Mesopotamia who settled in Syria in the twelfth century BC and established city-kingdoms centered on Aram (modern Damascus), Hamath (modern Hama), and Arpad (probably Tell Rifaat). By the tenth century BC, the Arameans had borrowed and adapted the 22-letter Phoenician consonantal alphabet (see below) to write their own language, thereby giving birth to Aramaic script. The Aramean cities and many other Near Eastern cities and kingdoms fell under the domination of the

Neo-Assyrian empire in the eighth century BC. Apparently recognizing alphabetic Aramaic as a more useful administrative language than Akkadian, which required highly skilled scribes to read and write its hundreds of distinct cuneiform characters, the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 BC) adopted it as the lingua franca of his empire. This new status for Aramaic caused the language and script to spread throughout Mesopotamia and the Near East and took firm root. When the Assyrians were overthrown and a Neo-Babylonian empire (626–539 BC) was established Aramaic remained the language of administration. Likewise, when the Neo-Babylonian state was destroyed by Cyrus the Great of Persia, Aramaic was retained as the administrative language of the Achaemenid Persian empire. Thanks to the imperial expansion of his successors, Aramaic was spread as far west as Asia Minor, as far east as the borders of India, and as far south as Egypt.

Aramaic script seems to appear first on coins struck by Baalmelek I (c. 479–449 BC), a Phoenician king of Kition on Cyprus (fig. 1), but the heyday of Aramaic coin legends was really the fourth century, when the script was used prominently on the coins struck by Persian satraps (regional governors) in Cilicia (fig. 2), Phoenicia (i.e., Mazday at Sidon), and Egypt (fig. 3), as well as by local rulers in Samaria. Even after the conquest of the Persian

1. “Roman numismatics” is usually considered to begin with the end of the Ptolemaic kingdom in 31 BC although numerous local coinages continued to employ Greek legends under the Roman empire and the distinct coinage of the Roman Republic was produced at the same time as many Greek coinages of the Hellenistic period.



Fig. 1: Cyprus. AR stater of Kition under Baalmelek I, 479–449 BC (10.54 g) (ANS 1951.116.69, gift of Christian G. Gunther) 18.5 × 24 mm.



Fig. 2: Cilicia. AR stater of Tarsus under Pharnabazus, 413–370 BC (10.9 g) (ANS 1977.158.549, gift of Robert F. Kelly), 21.5 mm.



Fig. 3: Egypt. AR tetradrachm of Memphis under Sabaces, 338–333 BC (16.7 g) (ANS 1944.100.75462, E. T. Newell bequest) 27 mm.



Fig. 4: Babylon. AR stater of Babylonia under Mazaeus, 331–328 BC (16.99 g) (ANS 1944.100.72088, E. T. Newell bequest) 24 mm.



Fig. 5: Iran. Persis. AR tetradrachm of Istakhr under Frataraka rulers, Bagadat I, c. 180 BC (16.79 g) (ANS 1968.244.40) 31 mm.



Fig. 6: Sasanian empire. AR drachm of Ardashir I, AD 224–241. Mashriq (ANS 1955.110.2) 18 mm.



Fig. 7: India. AE coin of Panchala. Agnimitra, AD 30–50. Ahicchatra mint. (5.34 g). (ANS 1973.56.784, gift of the Metropolitan Museum of Art) 20 mm.

empire by Alexander the Great in 334–331 BC Aramaic legends continued to appear on satrapal coins struck by Persian appointees in Mesopotamia and Babylonia (fig. 4) until the 320s. They drowned in the flood of coins with Greek legends that ensued when Alexander and his successors coined the vast contents of the Persian treasuries and released them into circulation. Koine Greek was destined to succeed Aramaic as the new lingua franca of empire.

In the early third century BC, when the Iranian Frataraka dynasts arose in Persis to challenge the authority of the Macedonian Seleucid kings in the region, their coins pointedly resurrected Aramaic script (and in one case explicitly Persian imperial iconography) (fig. 5). This was done not only to communicate the names and titles of the issuers, but also to cast the Frataraka as latter-day Achaemenids, legitimate in their opposition to Seleucid rule. Aramaic remained the preferred script for coins struck by the local rulers of Persis even after the Seleucid empire was conquered by the Iranian Parthians (complete by 129 BC), who most commonly used Greek coin legends, in part to signify their legitimacy as successors to the Seleucids. The Parthians were overthrown in AD 244 by Ardashir I, a local ruler of Persis who subsequently founded the Sasanian empire that lasted until AD 651. Not unexpectedly, his coins and those of his successors completely eschewed Greek legends and instead used the Pahlavi script, which had evolved from Aramaic in order to write Middle Iranian languages (fig. 6). The wheel had turned full circle and a form of Aramaic was again an imperial script for coinage.

Brahmi. One of the most influential scripts of South-east Asia developed in north central India by about the fourth century BC in order to express native Indo-Aryan Prakrit languages in writing. In antiquity it was variously claimed that the script was first taught by Rishabhanatha, the founder of the Jain faith, to his daughter Brahmi, from whom it took its name, or that it was created by the Hindu god Brahma. Modern scholars, however, have suggested that the development of Brahmi may have been influenced by the Aramaic script used in the neighboring Persian empire although the 52 characters of the Brahmi script represented syllables instead of individual letters. Brahmi spread throughout the Indian subcontinent and beyond, eventually becoming the ancestor of scripts like Bengali, Burmese, Khmer, Tamil, and Tibetan.

Brahmi was frequently used on native Indian coinages by about the first century BC (fig. 7), but it occurs much earlier on a remarkable square coin series struck by the Indo-Greek kings Agathocles (c. 185–170 BC) and Pantaleon (c. 185–180 BC). This coinage named the respec-

tive rulers with the royal title in Greek on the reverse (the usual position for Greek coin inscriptions) and translated the same names and titulature into Brahmi Prakrit on the obverse, thereby illustrating the keen desire of these kings to be recognized by native Indian peoples. This concern indicated by the bilingual Greek and Brahmi legends is further underlined by the depiction of Buddhist symbols (lion) and Hindu deities (Lakshmi, Vasudeva-Krishna, and Balarama-Sankarshana) (figs. 8–9). Indian support—or at least tolerance—must have been vital in a land where the Greek and Macedonian population was in the vast minority. Notably, after this experiment with legends in Brahmi script under Agathocles and Pantaleon, they disappear from Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek bilingual coins and are instead replaced by legends written in Kharoshthi script (see below). This shift to Kharoshthi is perhaps indicative of a later and greater focus on the native peoples of Gandhara (parts of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan) than those of India proper.

Cypriot. Although it actually represents the old Greek dialect known as Arcadocypriot, the Cypriot script is included in the present survey because of its very un-Greek appearance. Related dialects were also spoken in Pamphylia, but written using the Greek alphabet (fig. 10). On Cyprus, however, a unique writing system ultimately derived from the Linear A script of Minoan Crete had developed by about the eleventh century BC. The 56 signs of the Cypriot script represented spoken syllables rather than letters and were widely used for documents and monumental inscriptions already in the Early Iron Age. It was not employed on coins until the early fifth century BC, but became the standard script used to name the Greek city-kings of Cyprus on their coinages (fig. 11). The Cypriot syllabic script survived through much of the fourth century BC, but it was overcome at last by the Greek script that came to dominate much of the Mediterranean and Near East early in the Hellenistic Age.

Egyptian (Hieroglyphic). By about the middle of the fourth millennium BC, a pictographic system of writing developed in Egypt to inscribe religious texts.² This system was called hieroglyphs (“sacred writing”) by the Greeks, essentially translating the Egyptian term for it, *mdju netjer* (“words of the gods”). Hieroglyphic script was complex in its use of pictographs as logograms representing entire words or phrases, as phonograms representing consonantal sounds and sound combinations, and as determinatives indicating number and to reduce ambiguity of meaning. Thanks in part to native

2. Since the Egyptian pharaoh was considered a living god, texts related to his exploits are also treated as religious in character.



Fig. 8: Bactrian kings. AR drachm of Agathocles, c. 185–170 BC (3.22 g). Bopearachchi Série 9A. (Triton VIII, lot 632. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group).

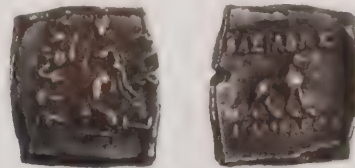


Fig. 9: Bactrian kings. AE unit of Agathocles, c. 190–180 BC (10.49 g) (ANS 1944.100.74404, E. T. Newell bequest) 20.5 × 22 mm.



Fig. 10: Pamphylia. AR stater of Aspendus, c. 380–325 BC (10.77 g) (ANS 1968.57.128) 23 mm.

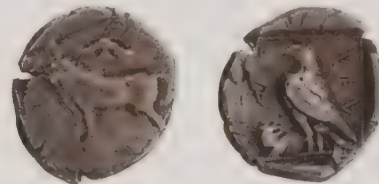


Fig. 11: Cyprus. AR stater of Paphos under Stasandrus, c. 450 BC (9.53 g) (ANS 1967.152.547, Adra M. Newell bequest) 24 mm.

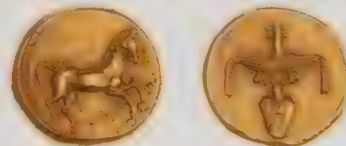


Fig. 12: Egypt. AV stater of Nectanebo II, 361–343 BC (8.43 g) (ANS 1963.268.72, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 19 mm.



Fig. 13: Egypt. AR tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III as Pharaoh, c. 342 BC (16.94 g). (ANS 2008.15.43, gift of Jonathan Kagan) 21 mm.



Fig. 14: Sicily. AR didrachm of Segesta, c. 470–405 BC (8.89 g) (ANS 1944.100.10129, E. T. Newell bequest) 22 mm.

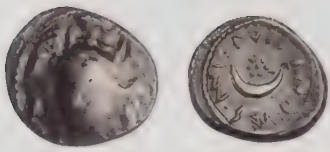


Fig. 15: Etruria. AR 20 asses of Populonia, c. 211–200 BC (7.33 g) (ANS 1949.100.16) 21 mm.



Fig. 16: Iberia. AE as of Kelse, first century BC (16.73 g) (ANS 2014.49.6) 29 mm.



Fig. 17: Indo-Greek kings. AR drachm of Apollodotus I, 180–160 BC (2.41 g) (ANS 1944.100.74510, E. T. Newell bequest) 14.5 × 15.5 mm.

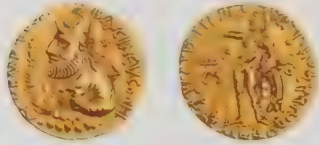


Fig. 18: Kushan empire. AV dinara of Wima Kadphises, AD 113–127 (7.95 g) (ANS 1944.100.30162, E. T. Newell bequest) 19 mm.



Fig. 19: Lycian dynasts. AR stater of Mithrapata, c. 380–370 BC (9.83 g) (ANS 1996.63.3, gift of Arnold-Peter Weiss) 25 mm.



Fig. 20: Lydia. EL 1/3 stater of WALWEL, c. 600–560 BC (4.71 g) (ANS 1977.158.841, Robert F. Kelley bequest) 13 mm.



Fig. 21: Arabia. AR half shekel of the Nabataean kingdom. Obodas II, 62–60 BC (6.25 g) (ANS 1944.100.69434, E. T. Newell bequest) 21 mm.



Fig. 22: Umayyad dynasty. Anonymous AV dinar, Dimashq mint, AD 694–695 (4.46 g) (ANS 1970.63.1) 20 mm.



Fig. 23: Campania. AE biunx of Capua (12.58 g) (ANS 1944.100.458, E. T. Newell bequest) 24.5 mm.

Egyptian resistance to coin use, hieroglyphic Egyptian made a single celebrated, appearance on coins of the Greek world. Gold staters were struck by the pharaoh Nectanebo II (c. 361–342 BC) in order to pay the Greek mercenaries he employed to defend his kingdom against reincorporation into the Achaemenid Persian empire (fig. 12). The obverse of this coinage features a rearing horse, the reverse combines the hieroglyphic signs of a beaded pectoral and a heart and windpipe. Together these signs are read as *nfr-nb* and usually translated as “good gold.” Although the staters were produced to pay Greeks, the use of a hieroglyphic reverse type reflects Nectanebo’s presentation of himself as a legitimate native pharaoh defending Egypt against the Persians—only the latest manifestation of the “vile Asiatic” repeatedly demonized in hieroglyphic inscriptions since the third millennium BC. Nectanebo II and his mercenary army successfully repelled a Persian invasion in 351/0 BC, but he was driven from power by a renewed Achaemenid offensive in 342 BC. The use of Egyptian hieroglyphs survived his short reign for more than 700 years, but they never again appeared on coins. The hieroglyphic script only came to an end in the fourth century AD, after the Christian Roman emperor Theodosius I ordered the closure of the Egyptian

temples (AD 391). By this time it is thought that few native Egyptian priests could still read them and the Greco-Roman population of Egypt had come to regard the signs as having allegorical and magical meanings.

Egyptian (Demotic). Around the mid-sixth century BC, Egyptian demotic (“popular” in Greek) script evolved in Lower Egypt as an easier means of recording Egyptian secular texts and documents than hieroglyphs (see above) or even hieratic, a simplified script related to hieroglyphs. Demotic, which native Egyptians called *sekh shat* (“document writing”), became the usual script for court documents of the pharaohs of the Saite period (664–525 BC) before Egypt was conquered by the Persians. Demotic script remained in use in Egypt until the fifth century AD, but over the course of more than a thousand years only appeared once on coins. An emission of silver tetradrachms imitating the types of Athens carries a Demotic legend naming the Persian Great King, Artaxerxes III (425–338 BC), as pharaoh (fig. 13). This coinage was presumably struck in Egypt to pay the Greek mercenaries who turned against the rebel native pharaoh Nectanebo II in 342 BC and permitted Artaxerxes III to reclaim Egypt for the Persian Empire. Nevertheless, the use of a demotic inscription,

which also included the pharaonic title, can have had little other purpose than to cast the Great King of Persia as a legitimate ruler in the native Egyptian context. This was important since the Persian administration had a history (some of it trumped-up) of coming into conflict with the powerful Egyptian religious establishment. The Egyptian priests had supported Nectanebo II in his opposition to Persia and thus Artaxerxes' demotic legend may be seen to be responding to the defeated pharaoh's hieroglyphic reverse type.

Elymian. Before the arrival of Greek and Phoenician/Punic colonists in the eighth century BC, the island of Sicily was inhabited by three major indigenous peoples: the Sicels in the east, the Sicani in central Sicily, and the Elymians in the west. Each of these groups had their own language, which they began to record in writing only after they were introduced to the Greek alphabet. The remains of these languages survive in a few inscriptions and glosses in Greek texts but only Elymian ever appears on coins. In the fifth century BC, the coinage issued by Segesta (Egesta), the chief city of the Elymians, featured Elymian (a probable Indo-European language of uncertain classification) legends written in Greek script (fig. 14). This use of the native language (sometimes with a parallel Greek legend on the other side of the coin) served to underline the non-Greek cultural and political identity of the Segestans at a time when their city was frequently threatened by the eastern advances of Greek cities like Silenus. By identifying as a non-Greek people, the Elymian Segestans also placed themselves closer to the Punic Carthaginians (a Semitic people), who were their most frequent allies against Greek western expansion. The written Elymian language seems to have died out some time in the fourth century BC. Coins of Segesta struck after the formation of Sicily as a Roman province (241 BC) are fully Greek in type and legend.

Etruscan. Unlike most of the other non-Greek languages expressed on coins in written form, Etruscan is the only one that has been considered by both ancient commentators and modern scholars to be a so-called language isolate, lacking connection to other language groups. However, there is a good deal of modern support for a relationship between Etruscan and the local language spoken and written on the island of Lemnos in the sixth century BC, which may be distantly related to the Indo-European family of languages. The Etruscan language was spoken and written by the Etruscans, a somewhat mysterious people who came to dominate northern and western Italy between the eighth and sixth centuries BC. Etruscan power began to decline in the fifth century BC in the face of defeats at the hands of the Greeks and the Italic Latin and Samnite peoples.

The 26-letter Etruscan alphabet was derived from Greek and was used not only for basic communication, but also for a rich literature, almost none of which survives.

Although Etruscan cities like Populonia and Volci (?) were striking coins already in the fifth century BC, their names, written in Etruscan, do not appear on their coinages until the third century BC. Previously the cities had been content to issue largely anonymous coins often with marked face values. The only exception seems to be the coinage tentatively attributed to Volci. This carries an untranslated Etruscan legend, which is generally agreed not to represent the name of a city or person, but may perhaps be a value indicator. It is tempting to see the sudden use of Etruscan ethnic legends on coins of Populonia (fig. 15), Volterrae, and Vetulonia in the third century BC as a response to the dire threat posed to Etruscan autonomy by the Latin Romans at this time. Although the Romans had already seized the Etruscan city of Veii in 396 BC, the full conquest of Etruria took place only in the first half of the third century BC. The Etruscan cities seem to have received the status of Roman allies following their defeat and generally remained loyal to Rome thereafter. Nevertheless, the conquest was destined to be the undoing of Etruscan language and culture. The use of Latin as an increasingly imperial language and general Romanization caused the Etruscan language to gradually fall into disuse and finally to disappear in the first century AD. The last person known to have had the ability to read Etruscan was the emperor Claudius (AD 41–54), whose antiquarian tastes and the Etruscan origin of his first wife induced him to compile a dictionary of the moribund language. Alas, it has not survived to aid modern students of Etruscan.

Iberian. Several Iberian scripts developed in what is now modern Spain by the fifth or fourth centuries BC. With the exception of the 16-letter Graeco-Iberian alphabet—a true alphabet in which each sign stands for an individual letter—these modified the Phoenician and Greek alphabets to represent the letters and syllables of the various Paleohispanic languages (i.e., Aquitanian, Celtiberian, Iberian, Lusitanian, and Tartessian) of the Iberian Peninsula. Iberian script was used for a variety of Celtiberian coins struck between the late third and the mid-second century BC. Most of these coins borrow types and denominations from contemporary Roman coinage (fig. 16), but appropriate them for the Celtiberian cities through the use of the decidedly non-Latin Iberian script. Ironically, but perhaps not coincidentally, the usually broad dating of the Celtiberian coinage (218–133 BC) suggests that this appropriation Roman money through written language was going on at the very same that the Romans were ap-

propriating the Spanish provinces of Hispania Citerior (which included the Celtiberian cities) and Hispania Ulterior through armed conquest. The Iberian scripts did not long survive thereafter, dying out in the first century BC/AD as victims of Romanization.

Kharoshthi. Before the mid-third century BC, the script known as Kharoshthi had developed in Gandhara (parts of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan) to render the Gandhari Prakrit languages used in the region. The form of the script is believed to have evolved from exposure to the Aramaic alphabet employed in the neighboring Persian Empire (after c. 500 BC), but unlike Aramaic, the Kharoshthi script consisted of 34 signs representing syllables rather than letters and used 5 additional diacritical marks to change their vowel values. The script was clearly well established in Gandhara by the reign of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka (c. 269–232 BC) because his famous Buddhist-influenced edicts were inscribed in this script in the region rather than in the Brahmi script (see above) used for the edicts he ordered inscribed in India proper.

Like Brahmi, the Kharoshthi script first appears on coins struck in Gandhara in the name of the Indo-Greek king, Agathocles (c. 190–180 BC). However, unlike his Brahmi issues, Agathocles' Kharoshthi coins do not give him the royal title or carry a second Greek legend. Bilingual Greek and Kharoshthi coins did not evolve until the time of his successor, Apollodotus I (c. 180–160 BC), who also introduced a new silver standard for use in his territories south of the Hindu Kush (fig. 17). The use of bilingual Greek and Kharoshthi legends had a long life, surviving the end of the Indo-Greek kingdoms in the first century BC/AD and continuing under their Indo-Scythian and Kushan successors into the second century AD (fig. 18). The script appears to have died out in Gandhara about a century later. When Kharoshthi was rediscovered by English orientalists in the nineteenth century it was the bilingual coins that permitted its decipherment.

Lycian. The people known as Lycians are thought to have lived in the region of Lycia in southern Asia Minor since the Late Bronze Age, but their language—part of the Luwian group of Indo-European languages—was not written down until the beginning of the fifth century BC. Lycian monumental inscriptions and coin legends (fig. 19)—the latter usually naming dynasts and cities—employ a 29-letter alphabet that borrows and adapts elements of Greek and Carian scripts. While the use of Lycian script may have partly served as a tool for expressing native autonomy in the face of Persian and Athenian imperialism in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, the script appears to have died out at the

end of the fourth century BC, overtaken by the Greek of Alexander the Great and his successors.

Lydian. It is perhaps only fitting that the Lydians of western Asia Minor, who are credited by Herodotus as the inventors of coined money, also inscribed their coins in their own script early on. This script consisted of 26 letters derived from the Greek alphabet and was used to write Lydian, an Anatolian Indo-European language distinct from the Luwian group. Lydian script seems to name the famous Lydian king known to the Greeks as Alyattes I (619–560 BC) (fig. 20) as well as other rulers, but virtually disappears from Lydian coinage after the kingdom was conquered by Cyrus II and the Persians in 546 BC. The only exceptions seem to be several silver fractions dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BC that have come to light only very recently and which have not been translated. Sardis, the capital of the Lydian kings, was successively the western capital of the Persian Empire and an important administrative center for the empires of Alexander the Great and his Seleucid successors. As such, imperial Aramaic and Greek gradually took their toll on the use of Lydian script, which seems to have died out entirely in the first century BC.

Nabataean. By the second century BC, a local version of the Persian imperial Aramaic script had evolved in the lands ruled by the Nabataean Arabs (modern Jordan with parts of modern Syria, Israel, and Saudi Arabia). The spoken language of the Nabataeans is thought to have been a North Arabian dialect, making Nabataean Aramaic a purely written language. Nabataean script is perhaps most notable in the inscriptions of Petra, the capital of the Nabataean kings, but it appears on Nabataean coins beginning with the coinage of Obodas I (c. 96–85 BC) (fig. 21). It continued in use on the coinage of the Nabataean kingdom until AD 106, when it was taken by the emperor Trajan and reorganized as the Roman province of Arabia. The civic coinages struck for the province thereafter carried Greek or (much less commonly) Latin legends, but a cursive form the Nabataean script still survived and by the fourth century AD had evolved into the Arabic script (fig. 22). Ultimately this descendant of the Nabataean Aramaic script was spread in various forms throughout the Near East, Central and Southern Asia, Africa, and parts of Europe through the Islamic conquests that began in the seventh century AD. It still appears on many coinages of modern states today.

Oscan. The Samnites, Aurunci, and Sidicini of central Italy all spoke Oscan, an Italic Indo-European language belonging to the Osco-Umbrian (Sabellic) sub-group of languages. Before the fifth century BC, these peoples



Fig. 24: Italy. AR denarius of the Marsic Confederation during the Social War, 90–88 BC (3.53 g) (ANS 1967.153.19, Adra M. Newell bequest) 18 mm.



Fig. 25: Judaea. AR fraction, fourth century BC (0.5 g) (ANS 1979.112.1), 8 mm (images enlarged).

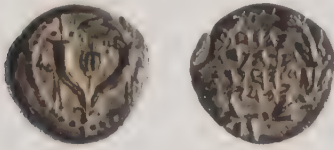


Fig. 26: Judaea. AE prutah of the Hasmonaean dynasty, John Hyrcanus I, 63–40 BC (1.77 g) (ANS 0000.999.25752) 14 mm (images enlarged).

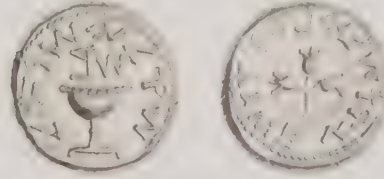


Fig. 27: Judaea. AR shekel of the Jewish Revolt, Jerusalem mint, AD 67 (13.86 g) (ANS 2010.69.7, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer, in Memory of Dr. Yaakov Meshorer) 23.5 mm.



Fig. 28: Phoenicia. AR double shekel of Sidon under Abd-Eshmun, 410–400 BC (27.61 g) (ANS 1967.152.571, Adra M. Newell bequest) 26 mm.



Fig. 29: Phoenicia. AR tetradrachm of Tyre using types of Alexander the Great, 327/6 BC (17.16 g) (ANS 1947.98.305), 24.5 mm.



Fig. 30: Phoenicia. AE coin of Aradus, 3rd century BC (5.27 g) (ANS 1971.193.54) 16 mm.



Fig. 31: Siculo-Punic. AR tetradrachm, c. 410–392 BC (18.2 g) (ANS 1944.100.79692, E. T. Newell bequest) 25 mm.



Fig. 32: Numidia. AE coin of Juba I, 60–46 BC (13.16 g) (ANS 1944.100.81054, E. T. Newell bequest) 29 mm.



Fig. 33: South Arabia. AR unit of the Sabaean kingdom, Ma'rib mint (5.45 g). ANS 1944.100.69454, E. T. Newell bequest) 17 mm.



Fig. 34: South Arabia. AR unit of the Himyarite kingdom, issued by Amdan Bayan Yahaqbid (1.90 g) (ANS 1944.100.72244) 15 mm.

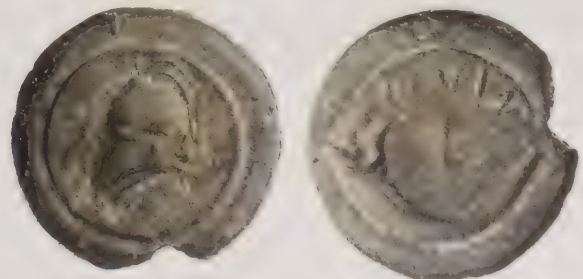


Fig. 35: Italy. AE as of Iguvium, c. 300 BC (205.04 g) (ANS 1944.100.72043, E. T. Newell bequest) 69.5 mm (images reduced).

had adopted and modified the Etruscan alphabet in order to create their own 21-letter Oscan alphabet. There is also there is evidence to show that Oscan was also expressed at times using Greek and Latin scripts. The most important of the Oscan-speakers were the Samnites, who clashed with the Latin-speaking Romans in three major wars between 341 and 290 BC. They were ultimately defeated and became allies of the expanding Roman state, but continued to resent their loss of autonomy. Oscan legends occur on several coinages struck by Samnite cities in Campania already at the end of the fifth century BC, but they are especially prominent on coins produced during the defection of several cities to Rome's great enemy, Hannibal, in 216–210 BC (fig. 23) and on the coinage struck by the allied Italic peoples who opposed the Romans in the Social War (91–88 BC) (fig. 24). The use of Oscan on the Social War issues almost certainly had a political dimension considering that after the Third Samnite War most cities in Samnium began to use Latin legends. After the Social War Oscan never again appeared on coins and followed the Etruscan language and script into extinction in the first century AD.

Paleo-Hebrew. The term Paleo-Hebrew refers to the original 22-letter consonantal alphabet developed from neighboring Phoenician scripts to express the Hebrew language in writing. It is first known from inscriptions dated to the tenth century BC, but in the fifth century BC this script began to be overtaken for most documents and inscriptions by the Aramaic script (the ancestor of modern “square” Hebrew script) of the Persian Empire. The connection of the Paleo-Hebrew script to the days of the independent Jewish kingdom of Judah before the Babylonian Exile (c. 597–539 BC) seems to have infused it with a sacred character that informed its later use: In some of the Dead Sea Scrolls written in Aramaic script, the Tetragrammaton (the four-letter Hebrew name of God) is written in Paleo-Hebrew in order to distinguish it from the rest of the text and warn against it being read aloud. This sort of usage has led to the suggestion that very few people could actually read the script in postexilic Judaea (and Samaria), but its appearance on coins would seem to imply otherwise.

Paleo-Hebrew legends first occur on the fractional silver coinages struck in Judaea and Samaria in the fourth and early third centuries BC and name the province or local governors (fig. 25), but then disappear along with local coinage production in these regions in the third and most of the second centuries BC. Coin legends written in Paleo-Hebrew only return with the rise of the Hasmonaean Jewish state led by the family of Judas Maccabaeus and the resumption of Judaeian coinage under the High Priest John Hyrcanus I

(134–104 BC). In contrast to the Ptolemaic and Seleucid coinage that had previously circulated in the region and always featured Greek legends, Hyrcanus' coins strictly employ Paleo-Hebrew legends to name him with his priestly title as well as the council of the Jews (fig. 26). It seems very clear here that the Paleo-Hebrew script was used here not only to advertise the identities of the coin-issuers, but also to unequivocally express Jewish independence from the Seleucid kingdom and perhaps also to underline the sacred legitimacy of the sometimes controversial Hasmonaean dynasty. The first bilingual Paleo-Hebrew and Greek coin legends appear under the Hasmonaean king Alexander Janinaeus (103–76 BC), presumably because the territory of his kingdom extended well beyond Judaea proper into lands inhabited by non-Jews and he wished his kingship to be recognized there as well as among his own people (who were occasionally at war with him!). As a king, he was probably also concerned to present himself as equal in legitimacy and majesty to his Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal rivals, all of whom presented themselves on coins in Greek. This same concern probably lies behind the bilingual legends on the coinage of the last Hasmonaean king Mattathias II Antigonus (40–37 BC) and the complete disappearance of Paleo-Hebrew script from the coinage of the succeeding Herodian dynasty. It only returned on coinage in the contexts of the Jewish Revolt (AD 66–73) and the Bar Kochba War (AD 132–135) against the Romans (fig. 27) to communicate stirring slogans like “for the Freedom of Zion” and to visually express the Jewish sacred culture threatened by Rome and neighboring non-Jewish peoples.

Phoenician and Punic. In about the twelfth century BC, the Semitic Phoenician peoples of the southern Levantine coast took a great step forward in the development of written language and invented the earliest alphabet. This consisted of 22 signs to indicate consonants (readers were required to supply the vowels) and which could be combined to form words—a vast improvement over contemporary Egyptian hieroglyphic and Mesopotamian cuneiform writing systems, which could involve between 600 and 900 distinct signs. The Phoenician consonantal alphabet traveled widely throughout the Mediterranean world with Phoenician traders, serving both as model and catalyst for the development of other consonantal and full alphabets, like the Aramaic, Greek, Paleoiberian, and Paleo-Hebrew scripts (see above). The Phoenician alphabet was also spread to North Africa through the important Tyrian colony established at Carthage in the late ninth century BC. There, local variant forms of some letters evolved, causing Carthaginian Phoenician to be called the Punic script (after *Poenus*, the Latin word for “Phoenician”).

Legends in Phoenician script occur on the earliest silver coins struck by the Phoenician city-kings in the fifth century BC (fig. 28) as well as on contemporary coins struck by the cities of Philistia further down the Levantine coast. These native scripts remained standard for Phoenician coinages until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332 BC, when they were overshadowed by the Greek of the coinage preferred by the Macedonian conquerors. Nevertheless, Phoenician was still used occasionally to name local rulers who remained in power (i.e., Azemilkos of Tyre) and in date notation (especially at Tyre and Aradus) (fig. 29). Phoenician was destined never to return as the primary script used on silver coins, but resumed its position on bronze issues of Aradus and the Aradian peraea already in the third century BC (fig. 30). Further to the south, it began to creep onto the quasi-municipal bronze coinages of the Seleucid kingdom in secondary legends under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BC) and his successors. Although these coins struck at various times in Berytus, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre usually name the issuing king and city in Greek, the additional Phoenician legends name the city but also jockey for regional status. Thus some Phoenician legends on quasi-municipal issues of Tyre claimed preeminence over Sidon while Sidonian issues responded by claiming supremacy over Tyre as well as its colonies in North Africa. Essentially there seems to have been a private Phoenician argument going on back and forth on the coinage that completely ignored the kings and their Greek legends.

The first numismatic appearance of Punic legends was on coins struck by the Carthaginians to finance their campaigns against the Greek cities and tyrants of Sicily in the fourth century BC (fig. 31). In the third and second centuries BC it was also employed on coins struck at Carthage and by Carthaginian colonies established on the Iberian peninsula (Gades, Sexsi) and the Balearic Islands (Ebusus) and in the first century BC by Phoenician settlements in Byzacium and Syrtica (the North African coast east of Carthage and west of Cyrenaica). A cursive form of Punic, known as Neo-Punic, was also used on coins of Numidian and Mauritanian cities and kings beginning in the third century BC. It began to appear alongside Latin in the first century BC (fig. 32), but disappeared along with local coinage production in the western Roman empire. However, Punic, Neo-Punic, and Phoenician survived as scripts well into the fourth century AD.

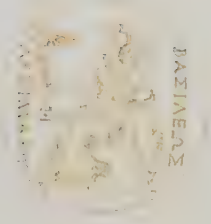
South Arabian. Around the ninth century BC, a script of 29 signs was introduced in order to write several Old South Arabian languages (Hadramitic, Minaeic, Qatabanic, and Sabaean). This South Arabian script (*musnad* in modern Arabic) first appears on locally

produced imitations of Athenian tetradrachms in the fourth century BC (fig. 33), but really comes into its own on coins of the second and first centuries BC (fig. 34). The script survived into the seventh century AD, when it was overtaken by Arabic.

Umbrian. The Umbrians of central Italy were widely regarded in antiquity as the most ancient of the Italic peoples yet they did not develop a script for writing their language until perhaps the seventh century BC. A 20-character Umbrian script borrowing elements from the Etruscan alphabet was used to represent letters in the Umbrian language, a member of the Indo-European family belonging to the Osco-Umbrian language subgroup. The most notable surviving Umbrian texts are the Iguvine Tablets of the third-first centuries BC, which record the rites of the priests of Jupiter at the Umbrian city of Iguvium. The script also occurs on coins of Iguvium (fig. 35) and Tuder in the third century BC, when these cities were apparently free Roman allies (*foederatae*). The general loyalty of the Umbrian cities to Rome had a high cost in terms of local culture. Romanization and the dominance of Latin came early and by the end of the first century BC the Umbrian script disappeared.

Conclusion

This brief survey of non-Greek scripts on coins regularly classified as part of “Greek numismatics” serves to illustrate how large, complex, and culturally diverse the Greek world really was. In some cases it also seems to reflect the cultural struggles that came along with Hellenization and Romanization. The decision to use a Paleo-Hebrew or an Oscan script, for example, instead of Greek or Latin had meaning that transcended the mere communication of textual information to Hebrew- or Oscan-speakers. It also expressed regional and local cultural identity in the face of strong homogenizing forces. Conversely, the decision to include Brahmi and Kharoshthi alongside Greek expressed the desire (or need) of Greek rulers to incorporate non-Greek peoples in their Indian kingdoms. The means of written communication on the coins were messages in themselves, indicating identification as Greek or non-Greek and Roman or non-Roman and at times expressing cultural resistance or parity. The fate of many of these non-Greek scripts and the fact that the coinages on which they appeared are still subsumed under “Greek numismatics” is also a message that should not go ignored in our increasingly globalized world.



Facing page: Tetradrachms of Lysimachus from the ANS's permanent collection match the types featured in MS Typ 411 from Harvard's Houghton Library.

REDISCOVERING A LOST RENAISSANCE COLLECTION: The Houghton Numismatic Manuscript

John Cunnally

Tucked away among the venerable buildings, lawns, and pathways of Harvard Yard is a modest red-brick structure in the neo-Georgian style, the Houghton Library (fig. 1). Built in 1942 with funds provided by the bibliophile Arthur A. Houghton, father of former ANS President and Huntington Award recipient, Arthur Houghton III, it houses the rarest manuscripts owned by Harvard University, including ancient papyri, medieval Bibles, and the papers of Emily Dickinson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Roosevelt, and other literary notables and famous alumni. Among these treasures lies a manuscript that is probably the most significant document for the early history of numismatics housed in any American collection: a volume of drawings of 1,220 ancient coins, mostly Greek and Roman, recording the numismatic treasures owned by an Italian collector 450 years ago (fig. 2).

Officially listed in the Harvard catalog as MS Typ 411, "Drawings of Greco-Roman Coins," this document provokes a throng of questions. Exactly when, where, and why was it made? Who was the artist, and whose collection is recorded here? How did these drawings find their way from Renaissance Italy to Massachusetts? And (perhaps the most important query for a numismatic researcher) what happened to these coins, rendered here with such beautiful detail, many of them great rarities—where are they now? In recent years some of these questions have been answered at least partially, but others still elude us, and MS Typ 411 remains one of the most mysterious and enchanting documents in the history of numismatics.

Covered in red morocco leather, tooled and gilded in the Italian style of the mid-sixteenth century, MS Typ 411 contains 171 sheets (342 pages) of illustrations of ancient coins, drawn with a fine pen and brown iron-gall ink on thickly laid paper. Most pages contain 12 images, the obverse and reverse sides of six coins (fig. 3). Many pages display only four, two, or even one coin, and several sheets are decorated with blank medallions as if meant to be filled in with later acquisitions. Especially striking is the accuracy of the artist who made the drawings, showing great care in reproducing the details of the images and inscriptions, including monograms, abbreviations, and various mint marks, allowing us to match these coins easily with similar examples in the modern catalogs. Typical of our draftsman's level of detail and accuracy is a page showing silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great—one obverse and eleven reverses—preserving the various symbols of the mint cities, initials of the magistrates, the muscular anatomy of Zeus, and diverse ornaments of his throne (fig. 4).

Although a few other handwritten inventories of early coin collections have survived, such as the list of Greek and Roman pieces owned by Cardinal Pietro Barbo in Rome during the 1450s, MS Typ 411 is unique in offering us a series of drawings instead of verbal descriptions. This is the only visual record we have of the contents of an actual coin cabinet of the Renaissance, a period when the science of numismatics was still in its infancy. There is no title page or text accompanying the pictures, except for the inscriptions on the coins themselves, and the terse abbreviations for the metals (AV, AG, or AE), usually at the top of each page. Acquired by



Fig. 1: The Houghton Library, Harvard University, current home of MS Typ 411. Courtesy of Harvard Public Affairs and Communications.

the library in 1955 from the London booksellers Davis and Orioli, nothing is known about the manuscript's previous owners, but a note in modern handwriting on the inside cover declares it was "Drawn by Jacob Strada for the Fugger family, 1550."

The individual who wrote the note—perhaps one of the staff in the Davis and Orioli shop—offers no evidence or documentation for this attribution, and I suspect the writer was indulging in learned speculation, hitting upon the "usual suspect" for numismatic drawings of this sort. Jacopo Strada (1507–1588) was typical of the passionate, adventurous, and sometimes unscrupulous antiquarians who hunted for classical coins, statues, and artifacts during the Renaissance. A dealer and agent as well as a collector and researcher in his own right, Strada is probably best known as the subject of a lively portrait by Titian in the Vienna Gemäldegalerie (fig. 5), where he offers us one of his antique sculptures. We see a pile of coins on the table and a couple of books, perhaps numismatic in subject, above his head. Trained as a goldsmith and painter in Mantua, Strada sought his fortune in Germany in the 1540s, where he settled in Nuremberg and became artistic advisor and agent for Hans Jakob Fugger, the banking magnate of Augsburg. Other Northern notables who made use of his acquisitive skills and Italian connections included the Hapsburg emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria. As their agent and dealer Strada made several trips to Rome and Venice purchasing paintings, rare manuscripts, and antiquities for the courtly museums and antiquaria of the North. Though not a university graduate or professional humanist, Strada considered himself a scholar and published several books on Roman history and coinage, and we know that he provided manuscripts of drawings of coins for the Fuggers and other German patrons, some of which can still be consulted in European libraries today.

Despite the handwritten attribution on the inside cover, it is unlikely the Houghton drawings were actually made by Strada, since their style and technique differ from the well-known coin albums that he produced for his clients, and we many never know the name of the artist (perhaps some obscure journeyman) who was hired by the collector to fill these pages with pictures of coins. The decoration of the leather binding, however, and the watermark of the paper (a crown surmounted by a star) reveal that the manuscript was made in Venice around 1560, and thus belongs to the same milieu of feverish collecting activity and scholarship that Strada frequented. Moreover there is abundant evidence in the drawings themselves to show that the coins were owned by a connoisseur whose treasures were widely known and praised, Andrea Loredan. A member of



Fig. 2: Front Cover of MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 3: Drawings of bronze coins of Titus, fol. 92. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 4: Drawings of tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, fol. 32. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

the Venetian aristocracy, Loredan had a few doges and admirals among his kinsmen, and there are still several sumptuous *palazzi* along the canals of Venice that bear the family's name (fig. 6). Andrea, however, shunned the politics and public administration of the far-flung Venetian empire to devote his energy and fortune to amassing an unsurpassed collection of antiquities, which he cheerfully made available to fellow scholars, artists and humanists.

Among the visitors to Loredan's private museum was the engraver and numismatic writer Enea Vico (1523–1567). In his 1555 handbook of numismatics, the *Discorsi sopra le medaglie*, Vico extolled Loredan as a model for other coin collectors, and noted his willingness to pay high sums for the choicest specimens. Among the coins of Loredan described by Vico is an unusual medal of the Emperor Alexander Severus (reigned 222–235), showing this ruler with his mother Julia Mamaea, struck on a specially prepared planchet composed of two metals, an inner circle of brass and

an outer ring of bronze. This same coin is portrayed on fol. 145v in the Houghton manuscript, and the unknown artist has indicated the separation of the two metals by drawing a thin circle in the field (fig. 7). Large Roman medallions are rare enough, but these deluxe bimetallic pieces, probably made for the emperor to distribute as gifts to members of the court, are especially scarce. In fact the bimetallic medal of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea described by Vico and illustrated in the manuscript has not appeared in modern handbooks and catalogues, and if it were not for MS Typ 411 we would have nearly no visual record of its existence.

Other scholars who frequented Loredan's palazzo were the Spanish bishop Antonio Agostín (1517–1586), whose handbook of numismatics, the *Dialogos de medallas* of 1587, became a favorite guide for collectors; the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius the Younger (1547–1597), studying Loredan's coins to establish the correct spellings of ancient Roman names; and the



Fig. 5: Titian, Portrait of Jacopo Strada, oil on canvas (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

Flemish antiquarian and printmaker Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583)(fig. 8), who called on Loredan while passing through Venice in 1560. Inspired by the Latin origin of his name, *ubertas*, meaning richness and abundance, Hubert Goltzius produced a series of lavishly illustrated books on Greek and Roman numismatics, printed in Bruges. These were frequently reprinted and remained the most authoritative references for ancient numismatics until Joseph Eckhel’s monumental *Doctrina* of 1793 made them obsolete. During his travels through Europe, Goltzius visited by his own account almost 1,000 collectors and scholars, gathering information for his numismatic books. In his catalog of the coins of Julius Caesar (1563) Goltzius includes our collector’s name among the antiquarians he met in Venice (fig. 9), and recalls how Loredan gave him a coin of Caesar as a gift.

It is likely then that many of Loredan’s coins were the models for Goltzius’s elegant copperplate engravings. For example, a silver tetradrachm of the Roman province of Macedon, showing the goddess Artemis riding a bull and holding a pair of torches, appears among Goltzius’s engravings of Hellenistic Greek coins (fig. 10); this was surely copied from the example owned by Loredan, for it shares the same set of magistrate’s monograms, ΛE and ΠA (fig. 11). Only one example of this issue with these monograms is known today, in the Archaeological Museum in Naples (fig. 12). Could it be the same piece that Loredan showed to Goltzius 450 years ago?

The organization of the coins in the Houghton volume follows a rough chronological sequence, and possibly reflects the actual arrangement of the pieces in various drawers, boxes, or albums within the collector’s study. The first 24 sheets carry pictures of 279 coins of Greek cities and provinces, mostly of the Archaic and Classical periods; then a section of 197 coins of Greek kings, beginning with Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great. Large bronze and silver pieces bearing the portraits of the Ptolemies, Seleucids, Prusias of Bithynia, Antigonos Gonatus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Perseus of Macedon are included here, as well as a gold stater of King Philip, one of the *philippeioi* mentioned in ancient texts. Also in this section are several coins with Punic inscriptions, including a piece showing Hercules and a tuna fish from the Carthaginian colony of Gades in Spain (fig. 13). Here too we find silver pieces of the Parthian kings, their crabbed and complex Greek inscriptions copied with only partial success by the draftsman (fig. 14). We may well wonder how these Iranian coins found their way from beyond the Euphrates to Renaissance Italy.

Fol. 52 comes next and forms the rather small “oriental” section of the collection, with two Hebrew coins, a silver shekel of the first Jewish revolt (fig. 15), and a



Fig. 6: The Palazzo Loredan along the Grand Canal, Venice, possibly the original home of MS Typ 411 and the coin collection recorded in it. Author’s photo.



Fig. 7: Detail of fol. 145v: bimetalllic medal of Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 8: Antonis Mor, Portrait of Hubert Goltzius, 1574, Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium.

VENETIIS.
Laurentius Priolus, Dux Venetiae.
Ioannes Grymanus, Patriarcha Aquileiensis.
Daniel Barbarus, Patriarcha defignatus.
Antonius Zantanus, Comes & Eques.
Andreas Lauredanus, Patricius Venetus.
Sebastianus Erizius, P. V.
Stephanus Magnus, P. V.
Franciscus Barbius, P. V.
Franciscus Venerius, P. V.
Antonius Calbins, P. V.
Alexander Contarenus, P. V.
Aloisius Rainerius, P. V.
Hieronymus Leonius, P. V.
Benedictus Cornelijs, P. V.
Bernardinus Lauredanus, P. V.
Ioannes Lauredanus, P. V.

Fig. 9: Loredan listed as “Andreas Lauredanus, Patricius Venetus” among the collectors visited by Goltzius in Venice; from Hubert Goltzius, *C. Iulius Caesar* (Bruges 1563).



Fig. 10: Hubert Goltzius, engraving of a tetradrachm of the First Region of Macedon, from the *Graeciae universae numismata* (Antwerp 1618), pl. XXII, no. 8.



Fig. 11: Detail of fol. 28: a tetradrachm of the First Region of Macedon with Artemis riding a bull. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 12: Tetradrachm of the First Region of Macedon, showing the monograms ΑΕ and ΠΑ on the reverse. Archaeological Museum, Naples, Inv. 6506.



Fig. 13: Detail of fol. 49v: a bronze coin of Gades (Hispania) with Hercules and a tuna fish. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 14: Detail of fol. 39: silver drachm of Orodes I of Parthia. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 15: Detail of fol. 52v: silver shekel of the First Jewish Revolt. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

bronze piece from the Bar-Kokhba war of the second century. The Hebrew coins should not surprise us, since we know of other instances of the collecting and study of old Jewish coins in the sixteenth century; but it is remarkable to find a page of six Islamic coins, large bronze dirhems of the Artuqid and Zangid dynasties (fig. 16). These were struck by the atabegs or independent princes of the Seljuq Turks who ruled northern Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and spent much of their time fighting the Crusaders, including no doubt some of Loredan's ancestors. Most Muslim coins from the eighth century onward were aniconic, displaying only Arabic text on either side, but the Artuqids and Zangids had the unusual habit of striking coins with crude pseudo-classical portraits on the obverse. Our collector may have mistaken them for ancient medals

of some unknown culture which coexisted with the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, not recognizing their Islamic origin. The Kufic letters of the Arabic inscriptions on the reverse sides are copied with great care—to the extent that the reader of Arabic can make out the actual date on some of the dirhems—but upside down.

The next section contains 138 coins of the Roman Republican or “consular” era, beginning with the large bronze as and its fractions, and continuing with the silver *denarii* struck in abundance during this period. These include examples of the early *quadrigati* showing a four-horse chariot (fig. 17), and the much-coveted EID MAR (Ides of March) denarius of Brutus (fig. 18), displaying a pair of daggers, struck after the assassination of Caesar. The Republican series is followed by a



Fig. 16: Drawings of bronze dirhems of the Artuqid and Zangid dynasties, fol. 52. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

distinct group of 32 coins of the “imperatorial” period, dominated by the leaders who struggled for power at the end of the Republic—Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Mark Antony.

The largest section in the collection, as in most other Renaissance coin cabinets, was the Roman Imperial series beginning with fol. 70v and continuing to the last page fol. 171v. These include 566 coins from Augustus to Theodahad, king of the Ostrogoths, who ruled Italy in the sixth century. Why the collection ends with this obscure and ignoble prince, whose corrupt reign gave Justinian the pretext to invade Italy and reclaim it from the barbarians, cannot be determined. The bronze 40-nummi coin of Theodahad (fig. 19) may have carried a particular signifi-

cance to the individual collector, his family genealogy, or local history.

The Imperial section includes most of the 13 aurei or gold coins which are found in the collection, and many silver *denarii* of the emperors and their families. The large bronze *sestertii* were especially coveted by Renaissance collectors because of their beautiful portraits of the Caesars and their relatives, with elaborate scenes depicting Roman religious, military, or civic life on the reverse. Among these are some of the best known coins of the Roman period: the *Decursio sestertius* of Nero (fig. 20) and the *Judaea Capta* sestertius of Titus (fig. 21). A particularly unusual and probably unique piece is the large bronze of Salonina, wife of Gallienus (reigned 253–268), showing an overstrike error in which the bust

of the Augusta appears twice, right side up and upside down (fig. 22).

Most of the coins in the Imperial section bear legends in Latin but there are also many Greek Imperial pieces struck by the cities of the East to provide “small change” for the local markets. These carry portraits of the Roman rulers, with Greek inscriptions and images of local deities or monuments on the reverse. Examples are coins of Ephesus showing Diana the huntress, struck under Severus Alexander (fig. 23), and numerous Egyptian bronzes in which the emperor’s image is combined with those of Isis and Osiris. The Loredan manuscript demonstrates the abundance and variety of Greek Imperial coins available during the Renaissance—or at least in Venice, which maintained extensive commercial ties to the East, and naval bases on Crete, Rhodes, and throughout the Aegean (fig. 24). Caracalla, for example, is represented by 11 Latin coins but 15 Greek ones, and for some imperial personages, such as Nero’s wife Poppaea, Hadrian’s companion Antinous, and the short-lived emperor Clodius Albinus, only Greeks could be found. In most modern cabinets and catalogues the Greek Imperials are separated from the Latin coins and arranged by province and city, but our collector preferred to put them with the Latins for each emperor, usually placing the Greeks first.

In common with Enea Vico, Sebastiano Erizzo, and other Renaissance numismatic writers, our collector includes contorniates of Nero and Trajan along with their genuine coins (fig. 25). The bronze contorniates—distinguished by a groove surrounding the image instead of a circle of dots—were probably struck in late antiquity by private persons or organizations and their original function is not well understood. Despite their inferior style and workmanship and their sometimes bizarre types, they were accepted by Renaissance collectors as contemporary with the early emperors whose portraits they carried. We also find one example of the notorious spintriae, coin-like objects displaying scenes of sexual intercourse on one side, and a mysterious number on the other (fig. 26). Modern scholars speculate that these X-rated coins were employed as tokens in the brothels of Rome, where the image of the Emperor was not permitted. Renaissance antiquarians associated the spintriae with the dissolute Tiberius, who supposedly struck them to celebrate his orgies on Capri, and this is where our collector places his specimen. What happened to this remarkable Renaissance collection? Like so many other Italian aristocrats, rich in honors but poor in cash, Andrea Loredan was compelled to sell his antiquities to a wealthy buyer from north of the Alps, where the newfangled humanism and taste for Classical art had spread to German-speaking feudal

lords and parvenus. In 1567 Loredan’s entire collection, which included statues, ancient manuscripts, and inscriptions as well as coins, was acquired by Duke Albrecht of Bavaria (reigned 1550–1579) (fig. 27), who was in the process of building a fabulous private museum, the Antiquarium, in the ducal *Residenz* at Munich (fig. 28). Not surprisingly the ubiquitous Jacopo Strada served as middleman in negotiating this transaction, which cost the Duke 7,000 ducats. The Venetian ducat was a coin containing three and a half grams of gold, and at \$45 per gram in today’s market the price of Loredan’s collection would be equivalent to about a million dollars. In a detailed account of his business dealings with Loredan, preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (CV 9039, fols. 121–135), Strada notes that the patrician loaned him a manuscript of drawings of his entire coin collection around 1561 to show to prospective buyers. This was certainly the same document now preserved in the Houghton Library as MS Typ 411, and we can conclude that for all its beauty and ingenuity its original function was that of a humble sales catalog.

It would please me greatly to end this essay by reporting that the Loredan collection found its way safely to the Ducal cabinet at Munich and still forms part of that city’s fabulous *Antikensammlung*. Unfortunately the evidence suggests that the coins recorded in the manuscript were either dispersed, like so many other early *Kunstkammern*, by war and greed throughout Europe, or suffered annihilation by man-made or natural catastrophe. While most of the bronze and marble busts and statues acquired by Strada for Duke Albrecht’s Antiquarium have remained in place, we cannot assume that the coin collection escaped the rapacity of the Swedish army of Gustavus Adolphus, which occupied Munich twice during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648). Evidence for this dispersal is provided by the diverse fortunes of several coins depicted in the manuscript which can be considered extremely rare or even unique, and thus serve as “tracers” for the whole collection.

Among these rarities is the silver tetradrachm of Macedonia, already mentioned in our discussion of Goltzius’s visit to Venice (fig. 11). As explained earlier, there is only one example found in the modern catalogs with the same combination of magistrate’s monograms, namely the piece in the Naples museum (fig. 12). Less impressive in appearance, a small bronze coin of Elagabalus from Bostra in Arabia can serve as another tracer (fig. 29). This rarity bears the mysterious inscription ΘΕΟ ΚΑΝ and the image of a camel and rider. In his 1922 catalogue of the ancient coins of Arabia in the British Museum, G. F. Hill noted only a single example of this bronze known to him, in the cabinet of the Bibliothèque nationale de France at Paris (fig. 30). Since



Fig. 17: Detail of fol. 54: a silver didrachm (quadrigatus) of Rome. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 18: Detail of fol. 63: an EID MAR silver denarius. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 19: Detail of fol. 171v: a bronze follis of Theodahad. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 20: Detail of fol. 84: a bronze sestertius of Nero. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 21: Detail of fol. 92: a bronze sestertius of Titus. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 22: Detail of fol. 165v: a sestertius of Salonina with overstrike error. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 23: Detail of fol. 143: a bronze of Severus Alexander struck at Ephesus, Ionia. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 24: Detail of fol. 144: a bronze medallion of Severus Alexander struck at Perinthus, Thrace, showing Dionysus finding Ariadne. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 25: Detail of fol. 98: a bronze contorniate of Trajan showing Hephaestus fashioning the shield of Achilles. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 26: Detail of fol. 77: a bronze spintria. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

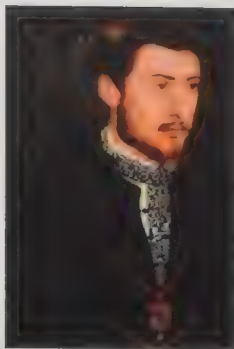


Fig. 27: Hans Mielich,
Duke Albrecht of Bavaria,
Pinakotek, Munich.



Fig. 28: Interior of the Antiquarium in the Ducal Residence, Munich, built in 1568 to house Loredan's collection and other antiquarian treasures. Author's photo.



Fig. 29: Detail of fol. 141: bronze of Elagabalus struck at Bostra, Arabia. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 30: Bronze of Elagabalus from Bostra in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, from F. De Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (Paris 1874), pl. XXI, no. 6.



Fig. 31: Detail of fol. 119: bronze of Faustina the Younger struck at Alexandria. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Fig. 32: Alexandrine bronze of Faustina the Younger. (ANS 1944.100.61614, bequest of E. T. Newell).



Fig. 33: Detail of fol. 138: bronze of Macrinus with Herakles and the Kerynean Hind, struck at Prusias, Bithynia. MS Typ 411, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Macrin.



Fig. 34: Engraving of the bronze of Macrinus in Jean Tristan de Saint-Amant, *Commentaires historique contenant l'histoire generale des empereurs* (Paris 1644), vol 2, p. 299.

then other examples of the Bostra coin, whose type is now interpreted as the Nabataean god Dusares riding his favorite animal, have turned up in Middle Eastern collections but no others in Europe. Considering that the coin in the drawing and the one in the Paris cabinet are almost identical in the way the reverse inscription has been erased by time to the first few letters of the god's title, it is difficult to avoid the judgment that they are the exact same piece.

Yet another rarity in Loredan's cabinet, which has survived apparently in the form of a unique example is a bronze of Faustina the Younger struck at Alexandria, showing Nike driving a quadriga on the reverse, and the date mark LF, indicating the third year of the reign of her husband Marcus Aurelius (fig. 31). We search in vain for this piece in the usual catalogues of Alexandrine coins—Dattari, Milne, British Museum; and indeed the reverse type is anomalous, for normally Nike drives her chariot to the left on these imperial Egyptian bronzes, not to the right as we see here, and we might suspect that the draftsman has made a mistake in transcribing the images or inscriptions. But the Roman Provincial Coinage Project's online database (<http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/project/>), drawing upon the largest collections in Europe and America, brings up a single specimen perfectly matching Loredan's piece, from the vaults of the American Numismatic Society in New York (fig. 32).

This brief and admittedly unscientific sampling of three potential "tracers" takes us to three different modern collections on two continents, and we cannot escape the thought that if these coins are the same pieces depicted in the manuscript, the Loredan collection was not only dispersed, but scattered as if by an explosion. Indeed, there are a number of coins in the Loredan collection for which no survivors have been published in our modern catalogues and numismatic literature, suggesting that much of the collection was lost by fire, shipwreck, or perhaps buried during wartime and never recovered. Among these is the bimetallic piece of Alexander Severus and his mother Julia Mamaea which Vico so admired (fig. 7), but which has not found its way to the modern literature, and is absent from Francesco Gnechi's 1912 corpus of Roman medallions.

Another lost masterpiece that passed through Loredan's hands was a large bronze of the Emperor Macrinus (reigned 217–18) from the city of Prusias in Bithynia, with Greek inscriptions, showing Herakles engaged in one of his 12 labors, the capture of the Kerynean hind (fig. 33). This piece has not been completely ignored by modern scholarship, for it is described in Théodore Mionnet's 1830 Supplement (vol. 5, p. 43). The Frenchman did not see it himself but cites as his authority the

seventeenth century author Jean Foy-Vaillant, who lists it in his catalogue of Greek Imperial coins, the *Numismata imperatorum* (Amsterdam 1700). Before being recorded by Foy-Vaillant the Macrinus coin had been seen, perhaps owned, by the learned nobleman Jean Tristan de Saint-Amant (1595–1656), one of the *Gentle-hommes de la Chambre* who waited on the French king. Tristan illustrates it in his numismatic history of the Roman Empire, published in 1644 (fig. 34); his inexperienced engraver renders the hero and the beast in a stiff, wooden style, and we are grateful that the Houghton draftsman was better able to capture the Classical grace and vivacity of the original. Some 50 years later, if Foy-Vaillant is correct, its owner was the Abbé Pierre Bizot, a numismatic savant who flourished under the reign of Louis XIV. Little is known of the Abbé's collection, except that it was sold after his death in 1696, and there ends the trail of Macrinus and his Hercules. Further investigation in the numismatic books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a task becoming less inconvenient as more and more old monographs, catalogues, and journals become digitized and placed on-line—may bring this fugitive to light again.

Irritamenta by John Cunnally is now available to purchase from the ANS for \$140 (Members) or \$200 (non-Members), plus shipping. To purchase, visit www.numismatics.org/store/irritamenta. 2-vol. slipcased set: 414 text pages with 40 b/w figures; 324-page full-color plates volume. ISBN: 978-0-89722-342-3.



Fig. 35. *Irritamenta: Numismatic Treasures of a Renaissance Collector*, by the author, published by the ANS in August 2016.



REVISITING *THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF RAYY* BY GEORGE MILES

and a Tradition of Islamic Coinage at the ANS

Vivek Gupta

On September 17, 1933, the archaeologist Erich Schmidt (1897–1964) wrote to the young student George Miles, “I shall need an Arabist on my next expedition to Persia, where I expect to find important inscriptions of the time from the 9th to the 14th century AD, in addition to material from all preceding periods. Thus I want an absolutely frank and straight answer from you whether your training was sufficient for such a job, and whether you want to change at all” (fig. 1). Such was the start to the career of one of the most important Islamic numismatists of the last century.¹

Following this correspondence a precocious Miles accompanied Schmidt on field excavations at the site of Rayy, Iran, in 1934, 1935, and 1936 (fig. 2), the findings of which Miles published in his dissertation and first book, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (fig. 3). One can imagine the stories from those times in Rayy during the 1930s when the political situation between the U.S. and Iran was not what it is today. In the letters between Schmidt and Miles one perceives a sense of collegiality, mentorship, and rigorous academic training that was at the core of their long-term collaboration and friendship. Schmidt served as Miles’s guide throughout his career when he was faculty at Universities of Pennsylvania and Chicago. Because of his wife’s gift of an airplane that bore the name “Friend of Iran,” Schmidt was able to use aerial survey flights in his excavations—a technology in which he was a leading pioneer.²

George Miles’s (1904–1975) (fig. 4) tenure at the American Numismatic Society lasted three-and-a-half decades where he served both as its Chief Curator and Executive

Director. The ANS preserves Miles’s archives including his correspondences with other leading scholars of his time such as Schmidt. The archives also bear many of Miles’s lecture notes, card indexes, and much of the research material that led to his landmark publications. Examining this archive not only allows one into the mind of one of the world’s great numismatists, but also into how Islamic numismatics formed as a field at the ANS with towering figures such as Miles and his successor Michael Bates.

Rayy: Archaeology and Palimpsest

The significance of Rayy (today Shah ‘Abd al-‘Azim or Shahr-i Rayy) located on the Iranian plateau of the capital city Tehran as a site for archaeological excavation of ancient and medieval remains cannot be overstated.³ It was the location of the pre-historic site known as Cheshmeh ‘Ali and a Sasanian fire temple. It was first an Iron Age settlement, developed under the Parthian empire (247 BC–AD 224) and later the ‘Abbasids until the Mongol invasions. Layer upon layer of evidence and its temporal continuity makes the site a challenging palimpsest for scholars.

1. The author would like to acknowledge Martina Rugiadi and Matthew Falcatano from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Renata Holod from the University of Pennsylvania, and David Hill and Michael Bates from the American Numismatic Society for their assistance and insights.
2. “Persepolis and Ancient Iran,” The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Accessed July 2016, <https://oi.uchicago.edu/collections/photographic-archives/persepolis/aerial-survey-flights>.
3. Renata Holod, “Foreword,” in Rante, Rocco, *Rayy: from its origins to the mongol invasion: an archaeological and historiographical study* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

Fig. 1: Correspondence
between Erich Schmidt and
George Miles. (Archives of the
American Numismatic Society,
September 17, 1933).

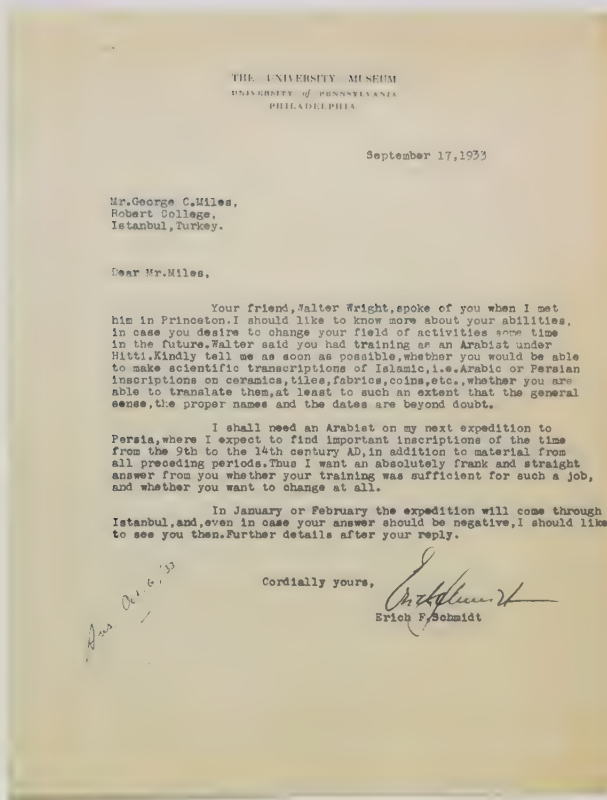


Fig. 2: Rayy, the Citadel, Looking Approximately N, with Mt. Sar-i-Tauchal in the Background, from an Altitude of 70 M on May 15, 1936.
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

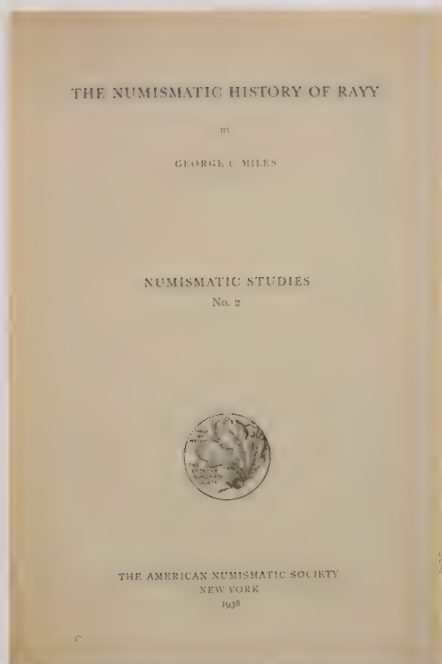


Fig. 3: Cover of *The Numismatic History of Rayy* by George Miles. (ANS, 1938).

The archaeologist Rocco Rante has recently continued fieldwork on several sites that had only last been excavated in the 1930s by Schmidt. He pursued test trenches and surveys in 2005 and 2007, in collaboration with the Iranian archaeologist Ghadir Afround, and published his results in 2015 in a monograph entitled *Rayy: From Its Origins to the Mongol Invasion*. Rante's study puts the materials excavated by Schmidt now preserved in the Muzih-yi Iran-i Bastan, the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, in a broader context. His forthcoming collaboration with Renata Holod should also expand scholarship on Rayy, as well as other Iranian and Central Asian archaeological sites such as Merv and Nishapur.

Isolating the Islamic material from Rayy as Miles did for his dissertation one finds numismatic evidence of the Arab-Sasanian, Umayyad, 'Abbasid, Samanid, Buyid, Ghaznavid, Seljuq, and Mongol domains. Miles's chapter on the Arab-Sasanian coinage of Rayy, for instance, provides evidence of coins from the Arab conquest of Rayy in the 640s until the beginning of the eighth century (fig. 5).⁴ Miles provides descriptions, obverse and reverse inscriptions, corresponding citations of Rayy coinage from this very early period until the Mongol period at the beginning of the fourteenth century. That there was a functioning mint at Rayy over this *longue durée* makes it a vital source for numismatic investigation critical to

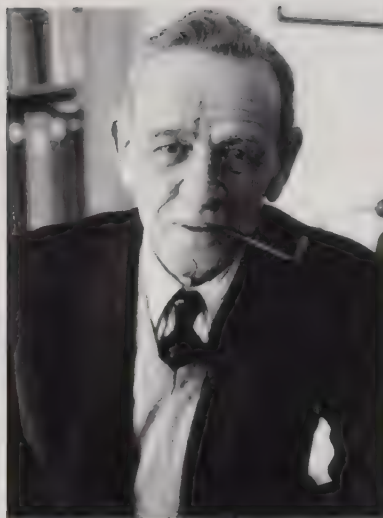


Fig. 4: George Miles, ca. 1973.

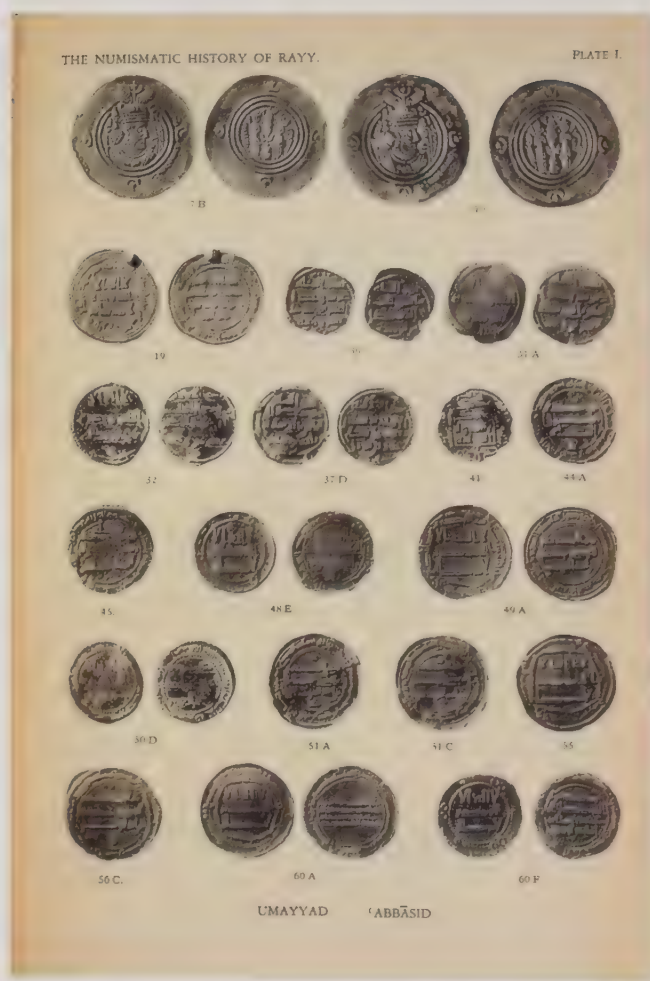


Fig. 5: Plates from *The Numismatic History of Rayy* by George Miles. (ANS, 1938).

4. George Miles, *Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1938).



Fig. 6: Rayy, the Citadel and Government Quarter (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

interpreting the architectural evidence as well. As Renata Holod pointed out in a recent lecture, however, understanding the evidence from Rayy requires identifying exactly how and where Rayy was excavated, which is knotty to say the least.⁵ The site that Schmidt chose for his excavations in particular, of the Government Quarter and Cheshmeh 'Ali, lack stratigraphical analysis making layers of evidence difficult to distinguish.⁶ Holod, for her part, collaborated on excavations at Rayy in the 1970s with E. J. Kerall and Chahryar Adle, after which Adle further complicating the geographical relationship between the old town of Rayy and Cheshmeh 'Ali. The *longue durée* of coinage in a single location nevertheless should provoke scholars to look for consistencies between dynastic rules, going against the idea that the shift from one ruler to the next is necessarily a rupture. Or, if ruptures do occur, perhaps they do not occur with dynastic change.

It is the breadth of Miles's *The Numismatic History of Rayy* that makes it a peerless work. One of the most arresting photographs from the excavations shows the men at Rayy standing on a large boulder with the expanse of the Alborz mountain range behind them (fig. 6).⁷ The immensity of the ground below paralleled the questions it would open up for Schmidt and Miles, questions that would ultimately sustain the rest of their careers (fig. 7). Even decades after the publication of *The Numismatic History of Rayy* and Schmidt's move to Chicago from Pennsylvania, the two continued to discuss when and how to publish the leftovers of their discoveries.

The Archaeology of the George Miles Archive

Even without further fieldwork, though, scholars have inherited entire archives to excavate from previous generations that can sustain research. Of the many unexplored treasures in the personal archives of Miles are his curatorial records that he kept using notecards. He organized his notes by century, each card with a citation, a related monument, or even a passing thought that would relate to the numismatic evidence. Other sections are given more vague names such as "Turkish," "Pre-Islamic Ruins," "People of Rayy," "Quarters of Rayy, Suburbs," and "Literary References." This low-tech method of organizing research allows today's scholar a clear lens into the genius of Miles.

The section labeled "Literary References," for instance, contains a card labeled "Haft Peykar" referring to *The Seven Portraits*, a romantic epic of the Persian poet Nizami Ganjavi completed in 1197 and dedicated to the then ruler of Maragha in eastern Azerbaijan. The story of *The Seven Portraits* centers on the romantic escapades of the Sasanian ruler Bahram-i Gur who finds the portraits of seven princesses from each of the climes



Fig. 7: Erich Schmidt and George Miles at Rayy (Courtesy of Renata Holod).

and sets out to pursue all seven women as his wives. The card includes a version of the Persian text as well as its translation (fig. 8). With minimal research a Persianist can locate the original section in Nizami's poem from which this quotation comes. Here it reads in Persian, as well as a current translation:

*az safahan shanidah am ta rayy
khanah bar khanah shud tanidih chuni
bam bar bam agar shudi khvahan
kuri az rayy shudi baspahan*

From Isfahan to Rayy, I've heard
house followed house like jointed reeds.
From roof to roof, the blindest man
could pass from Rayy to Isfahan.⁸

While the first couplet cited here differs slightly from Miles's transcription, it is clearly the same verse. Read in context of the romance, the verse comes from a chapter entitled, "About the Year of the Famine and Bahram's Compassion," and is meant to extol the king's duties for his people.

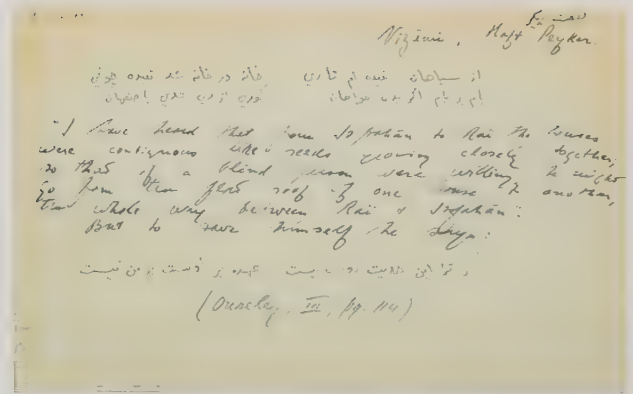
How to interpret the mention of Rayy in this poem? Was it merely the pre-modern Persian idiom of today's "from New York to Paris"? Looking closer at the words Nizami uses in the verse, he repeats the word Isfahan twice in two different ways. First, "*safahan*" and second with an adjoining prefix "*ba*" as "*baspahan*"—the two words that deviate in Miles's transcription, "*siyahan*" and "*asfahan*" respectively. When writing about the Sasanian times classical Persian poets such as Nizami often imbued their Persian with Middle Persian words that would fit the

context of their stories, and here we see that with Spahan that comes close to the Middle Persian word for the city.⁹ Yet Nizami makes his point clearer. He provides two versions of the city's name, to assure the classical Persian reader and to keep within meter of the verse. Rayy serves as the opposite pole of Isfahan, simply put, as two of the popular cities both during the Sasanian times and the medieval times of Nizami.

Given the presence of this idiom in Nizami's poem, what are its implications for numismatic study if any? It may have only struck Miles for the mere mention of Rayy. Any good dissertation researcher keeps a running record of all references to their topic no matter how useless. Looked at broadly, though, if the Sasanian world was very much alive in medieval Persian literature, in works such as Nizami's *The Seven Portraits*, then perhaps the people of Rayy had access to objects such as Sasanian coins to fill in the gaps of their imaginations. What makes the archaeology of Rayy so difficult to interpret is that its history was likely not as stratified as a simple periodization may imply. Nevertheless, the

5. Renata Holod, "What is in a Name? Signature or Keeping Count?" *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs Symposium* at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, June 10, 2016.
6. Rante, *Rayy: from its origins to the mongol invasion: an archaeological and historiographical study*, 32.
7. Thanks go to Renata Holod for bringing this photograph to my attention.
8. Nizami Ganjavi, translated by Julie Scott Meisami, *The haft paykar: a medieval Persian romance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 74.
9. "Isfahan," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Last Updated May 10, 2012.

Fig. 8: From the archive of George Miles. (Archives of the American Numismatic Society).



archaeology of Miles's archive is imminent and would likely allow scholars to untangle many of the ongoing problems in studying Rayy.

The Met's Seljuq Exhibition and the Legacy of George Miles

Miles's mark on Islamic numismatics also was recently re-enlivened in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (April 25–July 24, 2016) organized by Sheila Canby, Deniz Beyazit, and Martina Rugiadi. When the visitor entered the exhibition the first vitrine he or she encounters to their right shows coins, five of which are loaned from the ANS's collection (figs. 9–10). The exhibition begins with coins because in most cases the only portable objects that can be firmly associated with Seljuq rulers are coins. According to a lecture by Assistant Curator Deniz Beyazit, "there are almost no material artifacts that can be tied with specific rulers" with the exception of coins and later objects.¹⁰ The inscriptions on these coins are the key to associating them with particular rulers. While the brim of the pointed hat, or qalansuwa, of a figurine or chess piece, may mention the name "Sultan Tughril," it is likely a late thirteenth-century representation of the sultan.¹¹ Each of these Seljuq coins were initially studied by Miles, and in the case of those excavated at Rayy, they may have been retrieved while Miles was on the site.

The introductory vitrine of coins shows gold dinars of the great Seljuqs beginning with dinars of Tughril (r. 1040–63) (fig. 11) and ending with dinars of Sanjar (1118–57) (fig. 12). What makes these coins distinctive is that they were minted in both gold and a pale gold that is of a slightly darker hue. At the top of legends, often on both the obverse and reverse, a bow and arrow symbol is depicted that can also have the word Allah within the bow. The interpretation of this symbol is still a point of scholarly inquiry. Although Miles identified this as a *tamgha* it has now been identified as a *tughra*, which is a stylized version of a signature that may relate to Turkish or steppe culture since it is not found on earlier Samanid

or Buyid coins.¹² More familiar are the much later and highly stylized Ottoman *tughras* (fig. 13). Whatever this symbol may be, without Miles's early study of this material scholars may have ended up with a completely different interpretation.¹³ In Robert Hillenbrand's keynote lecture for the *Court and Cosmos* symposium he emphasized the Persian-ness of Seljuq art, noting only few of its Turkic or vernacular elements. The *tughra* shown on the dinar of Tughril minted at Rayy (fig. 11), or the Dinar of Alp Arslan (r. 1063–73) (fig. 14) are fine examples of an exception to this rule. There are many variants on this symbol indicating that it may also be part and parcel of how a particular ruler sought to define his identity. A close numismatic study coupled with a broader iconographic analysis of this symbol could shed further light on the specific versions of this symbol.

Miles's *Numismatic History of Rayy* also potentially provides insight on the other materials excavated from the same site. Even though his study does not often place this coinage in dialogue with other material evidence, the Seljuq exhibition offers audiences a vast array of objects excavated from Rayy including pottery and sculpture. One of the most striking works is a large-scale panel from the Philadelphia Museum of Art showing an enthroned ruler and courtiers. (fig. 15) The panel is made of gypsum plaster that has been molded, carved and painted. In the installation, the panel fills the exhibition's main hall, which is modeled after a Seljuq mosque evoking its characteristic hypostyle hall (fig. 16). The museum has attributed the work to "possibly from the vicinity of

10. Deniz Beyazit, "The Great Age of the Seljuqs—A Conversation with Deniz Beyazit," School of Visual Arts, New York, March 14, 2016.

11. Martina Rugiadi, "3. Figurine of 'Sultan Tughril'," in *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, Sheila Canby, Deniz Beyazit, Martina Rugiadi, and A. C. S. Peacock (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 50.

12. Martina Rugiadi, "Coins of the Great Seljuqs," 53.

13. George C. Miles, *Numismatic History of Rayy* (The American Numismatic Society: New York, 1938), 202.



Fig. 11: Gold dinar of Sultan Tughril (r. 1040–63), Minted at Rayy in 1048–49. (ANS 1922.211.126). 26 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 12: Gold dinar of Sanjar (r. 1118–57), Minted at Balkh in 1121–22. (ANS 1979.213.1). 22 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 13: Obverse of gold ashrafi of Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730), Minted at Constantinople in 1703/4. (ANS 1928.13.1). 42 mm (image enlarged).



Fig. 14: Gold dinar of Alp Arslan (r. 1063–73), minted at Rayy in 1064–65. (ANS 1922.211.131). 25 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 15: Panel with Enthroned Ruler and Courtiers, Iran, possibly from the vicinity of Rayy, second half the 12th century, Gypsum plaster; molded, carved, painted, Philadelphia Museum of Art 1929-69-1, shown in *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 25–July 24, 2016).



Fig. 16: *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 25–July 24, 2016).



Fig. 17: Coinage of the Seljuq Successor States, Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 25–July 24, 2016).



Fig. 18: Silver dirham of Het'um I the great (1226–78) and Kay Khusraw II (r. 1237–46); Equestrian Portrait, Minted at Sis in 1241–42. (ANS 1917.215.911, in the former Newell Islamic and South Asia Collection). 24 mm (images enlarged).

Rayy, second half of the 12th century,” given the work’s reassembly and modern interventions.¹⁴ Arthur Upham Pope, the well-known expert and curator of Persian art, acquired this work for the Philadelphia Museum through an intermediary Khalil Rabenou in Iran in the early twentieth century.¹⁵ This attribution provokes many questions, the most obvious of which is why Rayy? On one hand Rayy served as a site for academic research for Schmidt and Miles, on the other hand, its visibility rapidly increased because of the growing market for Persian art in the early to mid-twentieth century. Many of the objects associated with Rayy came to the market with shaky provenance and their histories remain a subject of research through technical analysis such as the exemplary work conducted by the Met’s departments of Islamic Art and Scientific Research. It is an instinct of Islamic art historians to raise their eyebrows at any Rayy attribution because of the numerous fakes attributed to the site. Further research on the history of these excavations may allow insight into how the numismatic evidence, which bear relatively indisputable inscriptions often indicating the date, ruler, and mint, may be the keys to learning more about the more ambiguous items.

Stepping out of Rayy, the second display of coins in the Seljuq exhibition is located at the end of the introductory hallway adjacent to the large-scale panel (fig. 17). In this case, the majority of coins are also examples from the ANS’s collection. In contrast to the earlier examples of the Great Seljuqs primarily minted in Iranian domains (e.g., Rayy, Nishapur, Isfahan), the Seljuq successor states encompass a much wider geographic range from the Anatolian provinces to Iraq attesting to the spread of this courtly society. The cultural idioms and iconography found on this coinage thus is far more diverse than that of the earlier period. More importantly, these coins feature figural imagery going against the idea of a prohibition of images or “*Bildeverbot*” in Islam.

The curators have selected a variety of coins that come into dialogue with other objects in the exhibition. A silver dirham minted in Sis (modern day Southern Turkey), ca. 1241–2, for instance, bears an obverse inscription in Armenian naming the Armenian king Het’um with a horse and rider, and the reverse shows the Arabic inscription linking the coin with the Seljuq sultan and the mint (fig. 18). The depiction of the horse and rider brings to mind this ubiquitous iconography that appears on a range of objects throughout the exhibition. Does the horse and rider relate to the nomadic tendencies of the Seljuqs, and thus implicate transcultural interactions, say, between Muslims and Armenians? The range of figural imagery found on Seljuq coinage relates to a spectrum of visual cultures such as Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Sasanian, and Islamic.¹⁶ As these later coins

are often bicultural or bilingual they may attest to the distances they circulated to facilitate transculturation. Further research on these coins would likely benefit from consulting the Miles archive. Since the coins were in Miles’s care for many decades, his papers contain further notes and thoughts related to these coins that could fuel future scholarship.

A Tradition of Islamic Coinage at the ANS

From early Umayyad to late Mughal coinage only few collections in the world come close to the encyclopedic range of Islamic numismatic materials at the ANS. Miles’s presence at the ANS and his archive make the ANS a particularly important site for studies of Seljuq coinage—the installation of ANS Islamic coinage at the Met is only a recent testament to how Miles’s legacy continues to live on, and it will continue for generations of studies of Islamic numismatics, material culture, architecture, and art history.

Resources like the Miles archive make the collection at the ANS exceptional. For instance, until the early 2000s many of the coins from Schmidt’s excavations were housed at the ANS before being returned to the Penn Museum. These were coins that Miles knew best and therefore it was pragmatic that they were kept at the ANS during his tenure—numismatists need to be able to revisit coins time and time again to make sense of them. In spite of their return, the ANS still maintains complete records of these coins as they help place the collection and its study in a broader context. In many cases the ANS has decided not to remove the boxes where these coins would have been placed serving as a valuable record of the coin’s absence.

Even at times when there has been no curator specifically responsible for the Islamic section at the ANS, the accessibility of the collection and strong record of academics passing through have made it a site for continued scholarship. One can frequently find the notes of curators such as Miles, Bates, or any number of authorities on Islamic numismatics in the trays or on the coin boxes. One often stumbles on transcriptions, stray references, and a number of other valuable pieces of information that help enrich one’s knowledge of the coinage. While the ANS is currently working diligently to carefully catalogue and photograph its Islamic holdings so that they are more easily available online, nothing will likely substitute for the archives and pulling out the coin trays for traces of a tradition of Islamic coinage.

14. Martina Rugiadi, “16. Panel with Enthroned Ruler and Courtiers,” 76–77.

15. Ibid. See note 5.

16. Beyazit, “Copper Coinage,” 71.

VIN MARIANI

A stylized illustration of a woman in a bright yellow dress and matching hat, adorned with red flowers. She is holding a small glass of red wine. In the background, a man is visible, also holding a glass. The overall style is reminiscent of early 20th-century advertising art.

POPULAR FRENCH TONIC WINE

*Fortifies and Refreshes Body & Brain
Restores Health and Vitality*

ART OF PROMOTION: Mariani Medals at the ANS

David Hill

It was a couple of years ago that I first became aware of Vin Mariani, the internationally popular wine-and-coca elixir originating in France in the late nineteenth century. I was working on an article about the Society's collection of drawings and medals by the celebrated French medallist Louis-Oscar Roty, who had done a couple of pieces for the wine's manufacturer, Angelo Mariani (fig. 1).¹ The one that really caught my eye was a plaquette (fig. 2). It is—no surprise—lovely. One side depicts a partially draped woman in a wooded setting. She is embracing a child and pouring liquid from a bottle into a bowl. As charming as this picture is, the Classical sylvan scene wouldn't strike anyone as unusual. It was the other side that really caught my eye. This comes across as purely commercial—a magazine advertisement set in metal. Mariani's bottle is lovingly featured, nestled against the branches of a flowering coca plant. A slogan completes the effect: AUX FORTS LA SANTE, AUX DEBILES LA VIE ("To the strong, health; to the weak, life"). I soon discovered that Roty wasn't alone in designing medals for Mariani. Other French artists associated with that era's renaissance in the medallic arts also produced medals for him (figs. 3–7). As fascinating as all of this was to me, what really grabs your attention when you first learn of Vin Mariani has to do with its recipe: it contained cocaine.

The cocaine in Mariani's wine came from coca leaves, the drug being an alkaloid naturally present in the plant. How much cocaine did Vin Mariani contain? Based on the estimates of Steven Karch, a physician and authority on drug abuse pathology who looked at French guidelines for coca manufacture, a couple of four- or five-ounce glasses might have contained the

equivalent of one "line" of cocaine.² Mariani recommended a glassful with every meal (though children, it was suggested, should take less [fig. 8]).³ The effects would have been enhanced by the brew, as it is now understood that when cocaine is used in combination with alcohol, a compound, cocaethylene, is produced in the body that creates a much greater sense of well-being in the user than might otherwise be expected. This was no doubt a factor in Mariani's success. Probably more important, though, was Mariani's innovative and masterful use of marketing and self-promotion. For decades, the Mariani publicity machine spit out bushels of printed matter celebrating himself and his product: magazine advertisements, postcards, posters, published testimonials, newspaper inserts, books, booklets, and brochures.

Sifting the facts of Angelo Mariani's life from the hokum has in the past been a bit of a challenge for researchers, though numerous online resources and a recently published book about him have helped bring his life into focus.⁴ He was born in Pero-Casevecchie on the island of Corsica in 1838. He moved to Paris to apprentice with a pharmacist in the 1860s, and it was there that he began experimenting with different

1. David Hill, "Renaissance Man: the Work of Medal Innovator Louis-Oscar Roty in Drawings, Medals and Letters at the ANS," *ANS Magazine* 13, no. 4 (2014), 41–51.

2. Steven Karch, *A Brief History of Cocaine*, 2nd. ed. (Boca Raton: CRC/Taylor & Francis, 2006), 37.

3. David Smith, "Hail Mariani: The Transformation of Vin Mariani from Medicine to Food in American Culture, 1886–1910," *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 23, no. 1 (Fall 2008), 48.

4. Alain Delpirou, *Angelo Mariani: L'inventeur de la Première Boisson à la Coca* (Bastia: Anima Corsa, 2014). The author's website is a great source for research and images relating to Angelo Mariani and his product.



ANGELO MARIANI
LE PROPAGATEUR DE LA COCA
1838-1911

Fig. 1: Angelo Mariani.

concoctions to make foul-tasting medicines palatable by mixing them with wine, a common practice at the time. One day a famous actress came to him complaining of depression, so Mariani suggested she try one of his coca wines. The felicitous results had her recommending it to all her friends, and an international sensation was born.⁵

The stimulating properties of the coca plant became a key selling point for Mariani. Like many health tonics of the period, he advocated his for its uplifting and invigorating effects generally. But he also suggested it could be beneficial for specific types—aviators, for example, or athletes. At times it was promoted simply as a beverage, a high-quality and flavorful enhanced Bordeaux. Other times its medicinal properties were heralded. “When you have tried in vain to boost your convalescent patients up,” he wrote in a pamphlet aimed at getting doctors to prescribe his tonic, “just give coca a thought.” Eventually, the stimulating alkaloid in the wine would present problems for Mariani. In the late nineteenth century, cocaine had at first been touted as a side-effect-free wonder drug, used for treating morphine addiction and as an anesthesia. But as early as the 1880s, there was talk of its overuse leading to “cocaine poisoning.” Reformers, alarmed by the increasing use of the drug for pleasure, began to take aim at products that contained it. At first Mariani fought back, resisting any changes to his recipe, saying that it was a natural way to deliver benefits of coca, while avoiding the “attendant danger” of pure cocaine. By the turn of the century, Mariani had spawned dozens of imitators, some of whom simply dumped cocaine straight into their wine. In the end, to distance himself as much as possible from these pretenders, and to keep the reformers at bay, Mariani began claiming his wine contained no cocaine whatsoever.⁶

One of Mariani’s imitators, also a pharmacist, was John Pemberton of Atlanta, who, like Mariani, had been captivated by what he had heard about the coca leaf, including tales of Peruvians and Bolivians who for two millennia had carried pouches of it to chew on, ascribing mystical properties to the plant. Pemberton called his coca wine mixture “French Wine Coca,” explicitly citing Mariani’s product as the model. His innovation was the addition of another exotic curative, the kola nut, this one originating in Africa and containing its own stimulating alkaloid, caffeine. Pemberton, alarmed by the rise of the temperance movement, began experimenting with different recipes in the 1880s, eventually removing wine entirely from his concoction. He began selling the new product as Coca-Cola in 1886, marketing it as a

new “intellectual beverage and temperance drink.” After the turn of the century, the presence of cocaine in Coca-Cola brought the company the same public relations headaches that Mariani had to endure. By 1903, cocaine had been completely removed from the product.⁷

Pemberton’s beverage would eventually far outshine its model, achieving a level of world dominance that few products have ever attained. But in its day, Vin Mariani was itself an international sensation, with offices in Paris, London, and New York. In fact, the distinctive silhouette of its bottle would have been as recognizable then as Coca-Cola’s iconic bottle would be to later generations (fig. 9).⁸ The great success of Mariani’s marketing can be attributed in large part to his pioneering and expert use of the celebrity endorsement. Whereas patent medicine peddlers of the era might have shown an ordinary man or woman testifying to a product’s greatness, Mariani wrangled some big names to glorify his.⁹ These were not only actors, musicians, and doctors, but also popes, monarchs, and presidents. He would typically send influential people a case of Vin Mariani and request that the recipient send back a photograph and a handwritten note in return. Given his generosity, they were usually more than willing to oblige, heaping words of praise on both the product and the producer. Roty, for example, his fame enhanced by his recent redesign of French coinage, is quoted in one testimonial: “My dear Mariani: Cupid thoroughly fatigued, is revived with Vin Mariani. You and he are known throughout the world—HE does harm, YOU do good—yet both of you are loved.”¹⁰

Mariani was able to obtain over a thousand of these testimonials, enough to fill 13 volumes published between 1891 and 1913 and one published later. The celebrities were mostly French, but Americans and Britons were represented, too. Thomas Edison, Sarah Bernhardt (fig. 10), Jules Verne, Emile Zola, William McKinley, Ulysses Grant, Arthur Conan Doyle, H. G. Wells, and John Philip Sousa all contributed. With musicians and artists, the testimonials might include a sample of their work, an illustration including a

5. Karch, 31–33.

6. Smith, 47–54.

7. Mark Pendergrast, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola: the Unauthorized History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company that Makes it* (New York: Scribner’s, 1993), 23–33, 89–91.

8. Karch, 34.

9. William Helfand, “Vin Mariani,” *Pharmacy in History* 22, no. 1 (1980), 13.

10. Angelo Mariani, *Eminent Physicians: With Biographical Notes of Members of the Paris Academy of Medicine* (Paris: Mariani & Co., 1902), 41.



Fig. 2: France. Vin Mariani. Silver medal by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1895. (1959.148.69, gift of Georges Roty) 52 × 38 mm (images enlarged).

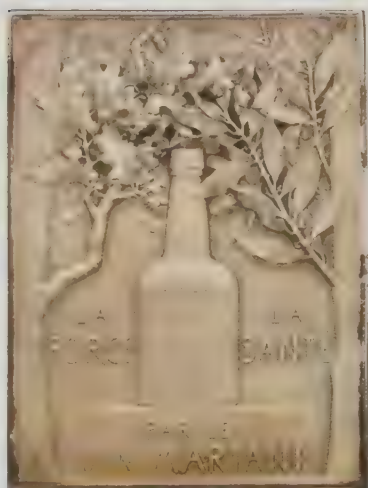


Fig. 3: France. Vin Mariani. Silver medal by Louis Patriarche, 1908. (1940.100.2438, gift and bequest of Sadie and Robert Eidlitz) 50 × 38 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 4: France. Vin Mariani. Bronze medal by Pierre Lenoir and Georges Dupré. (1911.7.1, gift of Angelo Mariani) 54 × 41 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 5: France. Vin Mariani. Silver medal by Victor Peter. (0000.999.24453) 49 × 47 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 6: France. Vin Mariani. Silver medal by Pierre Lenoir, 1909. (0000.999.52618) 52 × 41 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 7: France. Angelo Mariani. Silver medal by Louis-Eugène Mouchon, 1905. (0000.999.51960) 52 × 36 mm. Less pure advertisement than the others, this plaquette has Mariani the chemist on one side and his beloved coca plant on the other.



Fig. 8: Schoolchildren drinking Vin Mariani (picture postcard).

Fig. 9: A portion of a colorful advertisement featuring Mariani's distinctive bottle.



SARAH BERNHARDT, The Great Tragedienne.



SARAH BERNHARDT Writes:
My health and vitality I owe to Vin Mariani. When at times unable to proceed, a few drops give me new life. I proclaim Vin Mariani the king of all tonic wines.

Fig. 10: International stage star Sarah Bernhardt was one of many celebrities quoted in Mariani's advertisements. "A few drops give me new life."

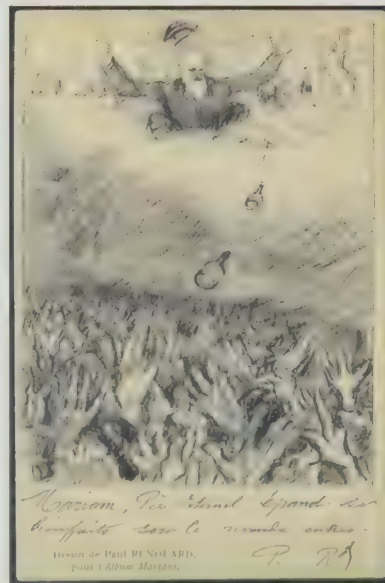


Fig. 11: Angelo Mariani rains bottles of his tonic down on a grateful crowd in this drawing by the artist Paul Renouard, reprinted on a postcard.



Fig. 12: Mariani delighted in the company of the Parisian art crowd. Jules Grin gave Mariani prominent placement in his *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français* (1911), now at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen. In this detail from the painting, Mariani is at center in the foreground, facing us.



Fig. 13: France. Angelo Mariani. Silver medal by Louis-Oscar Roty, 1895. (1959.148.138, gift of Georges Roty) 30 mm (image enlarged).

Fig. 14: Statuette of Angelo sculpted by his friend, Théodore Rivière. This plaster, now displayed at the Musée Frédéric-Mistral in Maitane, was presented in 1900 to the writer Frédéric Mistral, who agreed to write a story glorifying coca. Rivière and Roty collaborated on a fountain financed by Mariani for the village of Saint-Raphaël. (Photo courtesy of Alain Delpirou.)



bottle of the wine, say, or some lyrics for literally singing its praises.¹¹ Once Mariani had obtained a testimonial, he found endless ways to use and reuse them. Over 64 million issues of a newspaper insert, *Contemporary Figures*, were distributed over the course of 20 years. He sponsored four postcard series, each with 30 cards, featuring artwork and testimonials (fig. 11).¹² For these, Mariani paid artists directly, reveling in his role as art patron, strengthening his ties with a group for which he felt a particular affinity. Mariani basked in his own celebrity as he mixed with the Parisian art set, sponsoring gala dinners for the Society of French Artists at the restaurant Le Doyen. A painting by the artist Jules Grün, portraying Mariani among the crowd at the restaurant, was shown at the Salon of 1911 (fig. 12).¹³ Mariani was particularly close to Roty, who, in addition to the plaque, did a portrait medal of him (fig. 13), and also to the artist Théodore Rivière, who sculpted a small statuette of him (fig. 14). All kinds of artists, working in a variety of styles, were employed by Mariani to push his product (fig. 15).

The Mariani plaquettes, a synthesis of art medal and

advertisement, came out of this particular milieu, though broader developments in the medallic arts in the late nineteenth century had paved the way. During those years, the control and sponsorship of medallic art in France had been transferred from the state, with its imposed formalism, into the hands of a new wealthy capitalist class that was far more willing to grant artists freedom in their creations.¹⁴ Medal historian Mark Jones credits Roty in particular for having “liberated the medal from the utter seriousness to which it had been shackled by its official past.” He writes that, with the advertising medals, Roty “realized a medallic equivalent of that gay combination of classical nymphs and proprietary brands that the graced the posters of the nineties.”¹⁵ (Such posters, so closely associated with *fin de siècle*

11. Helfand, 13–14.

12. Karch, 34–35.

13. Helfand, 15–16.

14. Nicolas Maier, *French Medallic Art, 1870–1940* (Munich: Nicolas Maier, 2010), 16–17.

15. Mark Jones, *The Art of the Medal* (London: British Museum, 1979), 123.



Fig. 15: Mariani engaged all types of artists to sell his product, including caricaturist and poster designer Henri-Gustave Jossot, a tart social critic and fierce lampooner of the bourgeoisie.

France, were also employed by Mariani, who hired Jules Chéret, famous for his vibrant and dynamic designs, to paint one (see p. 40). Another development in the late nineteenth century was the increasing acceptance of medals as stand-alone artistic pieces, the shedding of what medal historian Philip Atwood has referred to as “the tyranny of having always to commemorate events.”¹⁶ And yet, most of what we might call industrial art medals from this period do commemorate important anniversaries and corporate milestones. There was, in the nineteenth century, particularly in the United States, a type of cheap advertising medal that was common: store cards.¹⁷ But examples of medals from that period that combine art and advertising to the degree that the Mariani plaquette’s did, while not functioning as commemoratives, are rare. One example, which will come as no surprise given the company’s purpose, was done for the firm Janvier et Duval, which specialized in the reduction and striking of medals (fig. 16). Two other examples were made for Paris’s famed Marmite restaurant. One, by Roty, features a steaming soup pot surrounded by Latin words (COQUI CIBARIA NUTRIT AMICITIAS) honoring the relationship between food and friendship. The other, by Daniel-Dupuis, has a fanciful depiction of boys bubbling out of a stew (fig. 17).

In 1910 and 1911, Angelo donated Mariani plaquettes by Mouchon, Roty, Patriarche, Lenoir, Dupré, and Peter to the ANS. They came by way of his New York representative (and brother-in-law) Julius Jaros around the time of the Society’s International Exhibition of Medallic Art (1910), an event that brought the ANS some international attention and that followed other art medal exhibits at world’s fairs in Paris (1889 and 1900) and Brussels (1910). The Society’s director, Bauman Belden, was struck by the marriage of artistry and commercialism he saw in the medals, and he approved: “It is possible to use real works of art for trade purposes, and give, as a business advertisement, something that will be preserved and valued for intrinsic merit and beauty.” Such medals, aimed at the masses, he thought, might help broaden their appeal. “Should the enterprising merchants of this country follow so good an example,” he wrote, “it would do much towards educating the people to an appreciation of real medallic art.”¹⁸ The ANS has two more Mariani medals done by his friend Patriarche.

16. Philip Attwood, “Promoting the Medal in France, 1889-1939,” *The Medal* 44 (Spring 2004), 43.

17. Alan Stahl, “The American Industrial Medal,” *Numismatist* 97, no. 10 (October 1984), 2066.

18. Bauman Belden, “Report of the Director,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 45, no. 1 (January 1911), 33.



Fig. 16: France. Janvier et Duval. Bronze medal by Alexandre Charpentier, 1908. (1976.263.35, gift of Robert Weinman, ex. A. A. Weinman) 60 × 52 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 17: France. *Diner de la Marmite*. Silvered copper galvano, uniface, by Jean-Baptiste Daniel-Dupuis, 1890. (Stacks Bowers & Ponterio, NYINC Auction, January 2014, lot 2037) 124 × 100 mm.



One is a portrait of Angelo (A MON AMI A. MARIANI). The other is of his mother (figs. 18–19).

Angelo's wine made him rich and famous, and he venerated the plant that made it possible. Coca filled the greenhouses on his estate. Its image adorned his rugs and curtains, chairs and sofas, floor tiles and moldings (fig. 20). He commissioned the artist Eugène Corbin to paint "The Goddess Bringing the Coca Branch to Europe"¹⁹ Angelo Mariani died in 1914 as his country and the rest of the world went to war. His product did not flourish after his death, though there is evidence that it was produced in one form or another for decades before fading away altogether at some point after 1963.²⁰ However, there may be life in the old brew yet. In 2016 another Corsican announced his intention to once again begin bottling and selling the tonic. His name is Christophe Mariani, though he has, as yet, been unable to establish any kinship with the wine's inventor.

19. Harch, 36.

20. Helfand, 18–19.



Fig. 18: France. Angelo Mariani. Silver plaque, uniface, by Louis Patriarche, 1910. (0000.999.48613) 100 × 75 mm (image enlarged).



Fig. 19: France. Sophie Mariani. Bronze plaque, uniface, by Louis Patriarche, 1913. (1940.100.1612, gift and bequest of Sadie and Robert Eidlitz) 100 × 72 mm. Angelo's friend Patriarche sculpted this portrait of his mother (image enlarged).



Le Salon.

Fig. 20: Mariani's estate was decorated with the plant that brought him wealth and fame. (Image courtesy of Alain Delpirou.)

COLLECTIONS

New Acquisitions

Elena Stolyarik

During the last few months the Society received a number of significant gifts and made an important purchase: a rare bronze tetras (18 mm, 5.81 g) issued by the Kersini in Sicily circa 344–339 BC, featuring a bearded male head and barley grain on obverse and a lyre on the reverse. This specimen, only one of seven recorded, was previously owned by Dr. David Wray and was published by Alberto Campana in “Aggiornamento al Corpus Nummorum Antiquae Italiae” (2007), no. 2e. (fig. 1).

The ANS is glad to add to our Greek department an extremely important collection of 309 coins from the Society’s Adjunct Curator David Hendin. This is part of Hendin’s personal study collection, which was assembled beginning in 1967, focusing on the bronze coins of Judea, with an effort to assemble various types and varieties including many rare issues and high-quality Hasmonean coins with legible and complete or nearly complete inscriptions. Together with the existing ANS collection, including the previous donations by Abraham and Marian Sofaer, this group creates a remarkable opportunity for the study of Judean coins. Among the interesting coins donated are: a silver obol of the 4th–3rd century BC struck in Gaza, which imitates an Athenian coin including the ethnic ΑΘΕ but also adds the Phoenician “mem” mintmark of Gaza (fig. 2); a silver quarter obol with the head of Ptolemy I and an eagle with the paleo-Hebrew YHWD (fig. 3); and an extremely rare variety of a bronze prutah with two cornucopias and pomegranate between and wedge-like letters of Judah Aristobulus I (104–103 BC), the first ruler of the Hasmonean dynasty to declare himself “king” (although he reigned only one year and was designated only “High Priest” on his coins) (fig. 4). Through this gift ANS also obtained a bronze 8 prutot of Herod I (40–4 BC) (fig. 5) and a bronze prutah of Pontius Pilate, the famous procurator (AD 26–36) of Judaea (fig. 6). Hendin’s donation includes as well a rare irregular issue of Agrippa I (AD 37–44) (fig. 7); a rare Agrippa II (AD 49/50–94/95) bronze coin with an image of the emperor Titus (AD 79–81) and Agrippa’s name as a part of the flowing gown of Nike (fig. 8). We also received a rare irregular prutah issued during the Jewish War of AD 66–70 (fig. 9); an irregular middle bronze with the images of a lyre and palm branch in wreath from the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132–135) (fig. 10); and a fine quality portrait coin of Tigranes V, king of Armenia and a descendant of Herod I (fig. 11).

We are grateful to have been given a generous donation from our Fellow, long-time volunteer, and devoted friend, David Feinstein. The core of this donation is a group of bronze coins reflecting David’s interest in the coin varieties issued by the Roman provincial mint of Nemausus in Gaul. In 27 BC, the emperor Augustus settled veterans from his Egyptian campaign, who had served in the civil war against Mark Antony and Cleopatra, in this city and gave it the rights of a colonia. The coins of Nemausus show on the obverse Augustus back-to-back with his general Marcus Agrippa, who had commanded at the Battle at Actium in 31 BC. Agrippa wears a combined rostral crown (*corona navalis*) and laurel wreath; Augustus is laureate. The legend on the obverse is IMP/DIVI F, referring to Augustus as commander and son of the deified Julius Caesar. The reverse represents Egypt with allegorical images of a crocodile and palm tree and bears the abbreviated city name COL NEM. The earliest coins of Nemausus, circa 28–10 BC, show Augustus bare-headed (figs. 12–13). Later a laurel wreath was added, and the title PP (for *pater patriae*), which Augustus first accepted in 2 BC, also appeared on the latest series, circa AD 10–14 (fig. 14). Several examples from this donation bear a circular countermark with the letters D|D separated by a line or branch, all in a border of dots. The letters may be extended *decreto decurionum* (“by decree of the councilors”) (fig. 15).

Another interesting group in David Feinstein’s gift includes two silver obols of the 4th or 3rd century BC with beautiful images of Apollo (figs. 16–17) and a silver stater, circa 2nd century BC with an attractive image of diademed Artemis on the obverse and Lion prowling left on the reverse (fig. 18); these three coins were all struck by the Greek colony of Massalia in southern Gaul. Also in this group is a silver drachm of the Volcae Tectosages, a Celtic tribe of southern Gaul, of the 2nd–1st century BC. This tribe occupied the area around ancient Tolosa (modern Toulouse). The coin shows a stylized bust with hair rising from top of the head on the obverse and a cross-like stylized rose on the reverse (fig. 19).

From 1808 to 1820, the British government struck no official copper coins, resulting in a shortage of small change in England. This caused major problems, particularly in the growing industrial cities of the Midlands and northern England. For a period of four years, between



Fig. 1: Sicily, Kersini. Bronze tetras (5.81 g), c. 344–339 BC.
Ex David Wray collection. (ANS 2016.16.1, purchase) 18 mm.

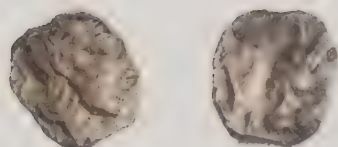


Fig. 2: Philistia. Gaza. Persian period. Silver obol (0.74 g), 4th–3rd century BC. GBC 1087. (ANS 2016.15.5, gift of David Hendin) 8 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 3: Yehud. Ptolemaic period. Silver quarter obol (0.21 g). GBC 1087. (ANS 2016.15.26, gift of David Hendin) 6 mm (images enlarged).

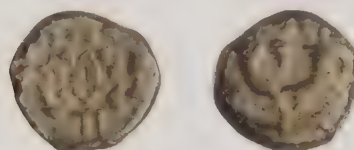


Fig. 4: Judah Aristobulus I (104–103 BC). Bronze prutah (1.91 g). GBC 1142. (ANS 2016.15.91, gift of David Hendin) 13 mm (images enlarged).

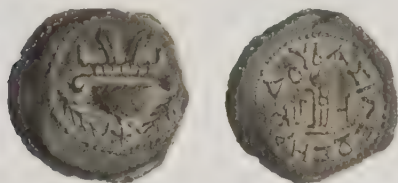


Fig. 5: Herod I (40–4 BC). Bronze 8 prutah (?) (8.69 g). GBC 1169. (ANS 2016.15.164, gift of David Hendin) 25 mm.

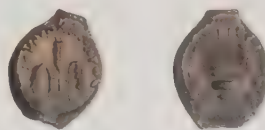


Fig. 6: Pontius Pilate, prefect of Judaea (AD 26–36). Bronze prutah (2.47 g). GBC 1341. (ANS 2016.15.236, gift of David Hendin) 16 mm.



Fig. 7: Agrippa I (AD 37–44). Bronze prutah (1.91 g). GBC 1244a. (ANS 2016.15.270, gift of David Hendin) 15 mm.



Fig. 8: Agrippa II (AD 49/50–94/95), Titus. Bronze coin (12.7 g). GBC 1303. (ANS 2016.15.275, gift of David Hendin) 25 mm.

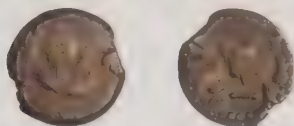


Fig. 9: Jewish War (AD 66–70). Bronze prutah (2.02 g) GBC 1360b. (ANS 2016.15.287, gift of David Hendin) 16 mm.

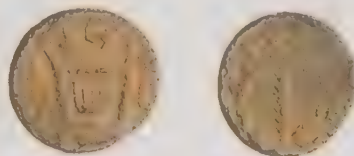


Fig. 10: Bar Kokhba Revolt (AD 132–135). Bronze coin (6.3 g). GBC 1377a. (ANS 2016.15.298, gift of David Hendin) 19 mm.

1811 and 1815, numerous businesses issued tokens. A fine addition to our collection of British tokens was donated by ANS Fellow Ray Williams. It is an 1811 halfpenny token from the British Copper Company in Walthamstow, Essex, with the legend VINCIT AMOR PATRIAE (“love of country conquers”) and a laureate draped bust on the obverse and a seated Britannia on the other (fig. 20).

Jay Galst has helped fill a gap in our holdings of modern Cuban banknotes. After his return from a trip to Cuba, he donated to the Society notes issued by the Banco Central de Cuba. Among these are a convertible 20 pesos of 2008 with images of a monument to Camilo Cienfuegos (1932–1959), a Cuban revolutionary and Fidel Castro’s close ally, and of doctors performing eye surgery, referring to the accomplishments of the Cuban medical system (fig. 21); a convertible 10 pesos of 2006 bearing images of a monument to Máximo Gómez (1836–1905), a major general in the Ten Years’ War revolt against Spain (1868–1878), and an electric power plant (fig. 22); and a convertible 5 pesos of 2006, with images of Antonio Maceo (1845–1896), a legendary general of the Cuban War for independence (1895–1898), and his meeting with the Spanish general Arsenio Martínez de Campos y Antón (1831–1900) (fig. 23). Also in Dr. Galst’s gift are some notes of the non-convertible currency of Cuba, including a 3 pesos of 2004 with images of the legendary Ernesto “Che” Guevara (1928–1967), a prominent figure in the Cuban Revolution (1956–59), on the obverse and a scene of Guevara as a voluntary worker cutting sugar cane on the reverse (fig. 24).

From long-time Fellows Peter Sugar and David Menchell we have received a 2016 Mercury Dime Centennial gold coin (99.99% fine), struck by the United States Mint at West Point. This artistic masterpiece, a true classic of American coin design by Adolph A. Weinman (1870–1952), displays a portrait of Liberty facing left wearing a winged cap on the obverse and depicts a Roman fasces and an olive branch, indicating America’s military readiness but also her desire for peace, on the reverse (fig. 25). The original Winged Liberty (or Mercury) dime was struck from 1916 until 1945, when the design was changed to honor the late President Roosevelt after World War II.

Dr. Menchell also enhanced the Society’s United States collection with a group of recent US mint issues. These include a 2015 Coin and Chronicles Set of John F. Kennedy, 35th President of the United States (1961–1963). It features a Presidential \$1 Reverse Proof coin, a Kennedy Presidential silver medal, and a Kennedy 5¢ postage stamp issued in 1964. Another item in this donation is a 2015 Coin and Chronicles Set of Lyndon B. Johnson, the 36th President of the United States (1963–1969).

It includes a reverse proof \$1 coin, a silver medal, an 8¢ stamp issued in 1973, and an information booklet chronicling Johnson’s life (fig. 26). Among other recent issues, we also received a 2016 Presidential \$1 coin proof set of Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, and Ronald Reagan, and a 2015 First Spouse series bronze medal set of Bess Truman, Mamie Eisenhower, Jacqueline Kennedy, and Lady Bird Johnson. Dr. Menchell’s donation also added to our collection of United States Congressional medals a bronze medal issued to honor the foot soldiers of the 1965 Selma to Montgomery voting rights marches and a bronze medal commemorating the heroic role played by the “Monuments Men”, the women and men who served in the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives section under the Allied armies to protect and repatriate monuments, works of art, and other culturally important artifacts during World War II. Among the commemorative coins in Dr. Menchell’s gift is one issued by the United States Mint in Philadelphia to celebrate the centennial of the National Park Service, which has preserved over 84 million acres of national parks, and connected all Americans with their outstanding natural landscapes, vital culture and rich history and protected the national parks for future generations. The proof silver dollar of this series shows on the obverse Yellowstone National Park’s Old Faithful geyser and a bison. The reverse features a Latina Folklórico dancer and the National Park Service logo, representing the multi-faceted cultural experience found in America’s national parks (fig. 27). Another acquisition in our new group from the Commemorative Coin Program is a proof silver dollar of 2016 issued in recognition of Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835–1910), known by his pen name, Mark Twain. The obverse of this silver coin features a portrait of the author smoking a pipe, with the smoke forming a silhouette of Huck Finn and Jim on a raft in the background. The reverse bears a variety of characters from Twain’s works: the knight and horse from “A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court”, the frog from *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*, and Jim and Huck from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (fig. 28).

Our collection of modern European medals received a souvenir medal from the Epigraphic and Numismatic Museum in Athens. It depicts on the obverse an image of the museum’s building, known as the “Palace of Ilion”, a former mansion of Heinrich Schliemann, the notorious archaeologist and excavator of Troy. The reverse is copies the famous EID MAR denarius of Brutus, commemorating the assassination of Julius Caesar. This small-size medal, produced by the National Mint of Greece, is our Athenian colleagues’ tribute to the European Days of Museums with the theme “Violence and Tolerance” (fig. 29).

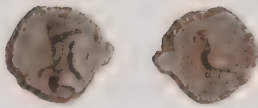


Fig. 11: Armenia. Tigranes V (d. AD 68). Bronze coin (1.95 g). Kovacs Armenia 11.10, CAA 156, AC 166. (ANS 2016.15.309, gift of David Hendin) 13 mm.



Fig. 12: Gaul. Nemausus mint. Augustus and Agrippa. Bronze as, c. 28–27 BC. RIC 1.154v; RPC 1.522. (ANS 2016.17.1, gift of David Feinstein) 28 mm.



Fig. 13: Gaul. Nemausus mint. Augustus and Agrippa. Bronze as, c. 28–10 BC. RIC 1.155; RPC 1.523. (ANS 2016.17.11, gift of David Feinstein) 26 mm.



Fig. 14: Gaul. Nemausus mint. Augustus and Agrippa. Bronze as, AD 10–14. RIC 1.161; RPC 1.525. (ANS 2016.17.7, gift of David Feinstein) 28 mm.



Fig. 15: Gaul. Nemausus mint. Augustus and Agrippa. Bronze as, c. 28–10 BC. D|D countermark on obv. RIC 1.151v; RPC 1.523. (ANS 2016.17.10, gift of David Feinstein) 25.5 mm.



Fig. 16: Gaul. Massalia. Silver obol (0.66 g), c. 310–300 BC. (ANS 2016.17.14, gift of David Feinstein) 9 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 17: Gaul. Massalia. Silver obol (0.59 g), c. 200–121 BC. (ANS 2016.17.13, gift of David Feinstein) 9 mm (images enlarged).



Fig. 18: Gaul. Massalia. Silver stater (2.69 g), c. early 2nd century BC. Ex Dr. Frank J. Novak collection. (ANS 2016.17.15, gift of David Feinstein) 16.5 mm.



Fig. 19: Celtic Gaul. Volcae Tectosages. Silver drachm (3.20g), 2nd–1st century BC. (ANS 2016.17.16, gift of David Feinstein) 14 mm.



Fig. 20: England. Walthamstow, Essex. British Copper Company half-penny token, 1811. (ANS 2016.14.1, gift of Ray Williams) 28.8 mm.

Fig. 21: Cuba. Convertible 20 pesos of Banco Central de Cuba, 2008. (ANS 2016.13.1, gift of Jay Galst) 150 × 70 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 22: Cuba. Convertible 10 pesos of Banco Central de Cuba, 2012. (ANS 2016.13.2, gift of Jay Galst) 150 × 70 mm (images reduced).





Fig. 23: Cuba. Convertible 5 pesos of Banco Central de Cuba, 2013. (ANS 2016.13.3, gift of Jay Galst) 150 × 70 mm (images reduced).



Fig. 24: Cuba. Non-convertible 3 pesos of Banco Central de Cuba, 2013. (ANS 2016.13.3, gift of Jay Galst) 150 × 70 mm.



Fig. 25: United States. Mercury Dime Centennial gold coin, 2016. West Point mint. (ANS 2016.18.1, gift of Peter Sugar and David Mennell) 25.6 mm.



Fig. 26: United States. 2015 Coin and Chronicles set of Lyndon B. Johnson (1903–1969), the 36th President of the United States. (ANS 2016.19.1, gift of David Mennell) 264 × 176 mm.



Current Exhibition

The ANS continues to be a major lender of numismatic objects to various museums, and we are proud to be a part of an exhibit entitled *Gathering Voices: Thomas Jefferson and Native America*, which opened in April 2016 at the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia. In 1743 Benjamin Franklin and other Americans with an interest in natural philosophy established APS, the oldest learned society in United States. As president of the APS from 1797 to 1814, Thomas Jefferson formed the Society's Historical and Literary Committee, which was charged with the collection of "American antiquities". He believed that study of indigenous languages would reveal historical connections among Native American tribes, and he commissioned the collection of Native American vocabularies, many of which are housed in the APS library today. The APS continues to expand upon Jefferson's legacy of research into American Indian linguistics and history by digitizing wire, wax cylinder, and reel-to-reel audio recordings. Part of this legacy is presented in the exhibition *Gathering Voices: Thomas Jefferson and Native America*. It is on display in Philosophical Hall, the site of Charles Willson Peale's famed Philadelphia Museum, for which Jefferson served as chairman of the first Board of Visitors. The show explores Jefferson role in promoting research into Native

American cultures, languages, and artifacts. It also compares his 18th-century written vocabularies with newly digitized recordings of songs, stories, and conversations with tribal elders in the 21st century. The exhibit not only demonstrates Jefferson's accomplishment in forming and developing multifaceted legacy of the North American continent vital heritage, but also reveals his attention to national policies that ultimately threatened the survival of indigenous peoples.

Indian peace medals in three different sizes from the American Numismatic Society (fig. 30) are an important part of the APS exhibition alongside objects from the Corps of Discovery voyage, such as Lewis and Clark's journals, and manuscripts relating the names, languages, and populations of Native American nations encountered along their journey. The exhibit also includes portraits of Native American diplomatic visitors to Washington, DC, portrayed in Thomas McKenney's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. In particular, in the portrait of Chief Red Jacket (Iroquois), the Washington medal hangs prominently on his chest. The inclusion of the ANS Washington medal (fig. 30) alongside this portrait provides visitors a substantial link to the past. The exhibit will be on display for eight months and closes in December 2016.



Fig. 27: United States. 100th Anniversary of the National Park Service commemorative proof silver dollar, 2016. Philadelphia mint (ANS 2016.19.3, gift of David Menchell) 37 mm.



Fig. 28: United States. Mark Twain commemorative proof silver dollar, 2016. Philadelphia mint. (ANS 2016.19.2, gift of David Menchell) 37 mm.

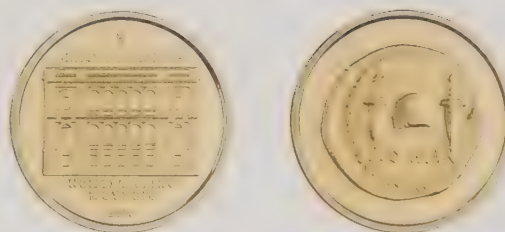


Fig. 29: Greece. Epigraphic and Numismatic Museum, Athens, small souvenir medal, 2015. (ANS 2016.11.1, gift of Epigraphic and Numismatic Museum) 29.1 mm.



Fig. 30: United States. George Washington oval silver Indian peace medal, 1793. (ANS 1915.138.4, gift S. H. P. Pell).

NEWS AND DEVELOPMENT

62nd Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar in Numismatics

Between June 6 and July 29, the ANS held the 62nd Eric P. Newman Summer Graduate Seminar in Numismatics under the direction of Dr. Peter van Alfen. The Visiting Scholar was Dr. Klaus Vondrovec, Curator of Ancient Coins at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria, who teaches at the University of Vienna. Dr. Vondrovec is, among other things, a specialist in Late Roman and ancient coinages of Central Asia. In addition to sessions taught by staff members Dr. Gilles Bransbourg, Dr. Peter Donovan, David Hendin, David Hill, Andrew Reinhard, Alan Roche, Dr. Ute Wartenberg, and David Yoon, sessions were also taught by former staff members Dr. Michael Bates, Prof. Sebastian Heath, Robert Hoge, and volunteer Frederick "Ted" Withington. Guest speakers included Prof. Nathan Elkins of Baylor University and Prof. John Kroll of Oxford University. This year's eight students included: Prof. Nathanael Andrade, an Assistant Professor at SUNY-Binghamton, author of *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2013), who completed a die study



Dr. van Alfen teaching a session on archaic and classical Greek coinage.

of the 4th century BC coinage of Hierapolis-Bambyce (Manbog) in modern Syria; Sam Caldis, a PhD student at Brown University, who studied 3rd century AD family portraits on imperial Roman coinage; Guiseppe Castellano, a PhD student at the University of Texas at Austin, who looked at the problem of the standard change in 5th century BC Sicilian small coinage from the Attic standard to the litra standard; Ruben Post, a PhD student at the University of Pennsylvania, who studied the emergence and spread of the reduced Aeginetan standard in the Peloponnese in the 3rd century BC; Talia Prussin, a PhD student at the University of California, Berkeley, who considered the phenomenon of clay replicas of coinage found in various sites across the Mediterranean and Near dating from the 5th through 3rd centuries BC; Xiaoyan Qi, a PhD student at Nankai University in China, and a visiting student at the Institute for the Study of



The 2016 Class Photo shot by Alan Roche at Clandestino, 35 Canal Street.

the Ancient World at New York University, who studied the cast coinage of Samarkand; Jeremy Simmons, a PhD student at Columbia University, who worked on making sense of non-sense, the faux Greco-Roman inscriptions on western Ksatrapa coinage from India; and Dr. Elsbeth van der Wilt, a postdoc at the Freie Universität Berlin, looked at problems of 5th and 4th century monetary metrology in Egypt, particularly the relationship between the indigenous deben system, the Achaemenid karsh/shekel system, and the Attic system, the latter becoming increasingly important during this period with the importation of Athenian owl coinage.

Additional information on the students' projects can be found on the ANS's blog, Pocketchange (numismatics.org/pocketchange); additional information on the Seminar can be found at numismatics.org/seminar.

Dr. Michael Alram Received 2016 Archer M. Huntington Award



Dr. Michael Alram

On June 7, 2016, the American Numismatic Society honored Dr. Michael Alram with the 2016 Archer M. Huntington Award in recognition of his outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. Dr. Alram is a distinguished scholar, scientist, researcher and teacher who has been a formidable presence in the numismatic community for the past four decades. Remarkably for such a scholar—and most fittingly for the mission of the American Numismatic Society—he is a rare example of a researcher who has strived throughout his career to bring the study and love of numismatics to a wider audience. He is also an exemplary model of administrative accomplishments, serving in leadership capacities at the Coin Cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the International Committee of Money and Banking Museums and the International Numismatic Council, where he currently serves as President.

The award ceremony, held at the ANS headquarters in Manhattan, included the presentation of Dr. Alram's Sil-

via Mani Hurter Memorial Lecture entitled, "Money and Power in Ancient Bactria." Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Executive Director of the ANS, noted the historical significance of this year's choice of honoree: Dr. Alram is the 95th recipient of the Huntington Award, yet only the third Austrian to receive it, and the first since World War II.

In making that selection, Prof. Jere Bacharach, Chair of the Huntington Committee, wrote: "Dr. Alram has spent his entire career invested in and devoted to the field of numismatics. His academic credentials, from his numerous awards to his teaching positions to the variety of leadership roles, made him an obvious choice for this prestigious award. All of us in the numismatic community are indebted to him for his lifelong work and contributions to our field of study."

In 1997, Dr. Alram was the Eric P. Newman Visiting Scholar in Residence of the American Numismatic Society; he has been a guest lecturer at multiple institutions, and also teaches as a member of the Doctoral College "Cultural Transfers and Cross-Contacts in the Himalayan Borderlands," at the University of Vienna. An accomplished scholar in the coinage of Persia, Dr. Alram was appointed Curator of Byzantine, Medieval and Oriental Numismatics at the coin cabinet at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna in 1986. In that capacity he was responsible for major exhibitions focusing on the Silk Road, China, Persia, and Alexander the Great, among other subjects. In 2008, he became the museum's Director.

Dr. Alram is renowned for his research on Iran and its historical empires. But he has also written extensively on late Roman coinage—such as the book on the coinage of Maximinus Thrax—as well as on Medieval and Modern coinage. The various catalogues of Roman and Byzantine collections in Austrian monasteries, which he published with Roswitha Denk, W. Szaivert, and others, display his extraordinary breadth of knowledge.

Dr. Alram has received numerous awards for his lifelong work, including the Medal of the Gesellschaft für Internationale Geldgeschichte and the Medal of the Royal Numismatic Society, and is active in many academic societies including the ANS, the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the Institute for Advanced Studies.

The Archer M. Huntington Award, first presented to Edward T. Newell in 1918, is conferred annually in honor of the late Archer M. Huntington, ANS President from 1905 to 1910 and a major benefactor, in recognition of outstanding career contributions to numismatic scholarship. The medal was designed in 1908 by Emil Fuchs to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the American Numismatic Society.

ANS Mission Statement and Strategic Plan

Over the last year, the Board of Trustees and the ANS staff have been working on the vision and goals of the Society for the next few years. While thinking about the plan, it became clear that the current mission statement of the Society was rather more precisely formulated and ambitious than the Trustees felt was necessary. After intensive discussions, the Trustees devised a much shorter, simpler statement, which covers the Society's overall activities. It was felt that the ANS mission statement, which appears below, covered what the Society had been doing in the past and hoped to do going forward. As the mission statement is part of the By-laws, the Nominating Committee is asking the Fellows of the Society to approve this change at the upcoming annual meeting of the Society in October.

Perhaps more importantly, the Trustees have also continued to work on a strategic plan, which would cover the priorities of the Society over the next several years. Some of the ideas will be presented to members at the upcoming annual meeting, since the input of members is crucial if the Society will continue to prosper into the future. Here the key elements will be a sustainable financial model and a focus on research on and publications of a few selected areas of the collection. In this context, digitization of the archives and library as well as the numismatic collection will continue to be a central focus. We will also create a membership committee, which will discuss different events for members in the New York area and elsewhere.

Below are the nominations for Trustees and Fellows. All ANS Fellows (currently 219 out of a possible 225) are invited to vote for the nominated Trustees at the ANS Annual Meeting on 29 October 2016. Nominations were posted online in late July. We also ask Fellows, ANS Members and others for possible Trustee nominations. If you know of anyone who would make a good ANS Trustee, please contact the Chairman of the Board, Kenneth Edlow, or Ute Wartenberg Kagan, the Executive Director directly. ANS Trustees oversee all business of the Society, set the goals, contribute financially by giving and raising money, and represent the Society publicly.

The Nominating and Governance Committee, pursuant to Art. V Sec. 12 of the ANS By-Laws approved for publication all of the nominees as follows: The following Trustee candidates have been nominated for a three-year Term ending in 2019 for vote by the Fellows of the Society at the October 29, 2016, Annual Meeting

Dr. Keith M. Barron, Haute-Nendaz, Switzerland, is an entrepreneur and exploration geologist in the mining

sector. He holds a PhD in Geology from the University of Western Ontario. He is President and CEO of Aurania Resources Ltd., the founder and a Director of South American uranium explorer U3O8 Corp., a Director of Firestone Ventures, and owns and operates a sapphire mine in Montana, USA. Dr. Barron received the Thayer Lindsley International Discovery Award at the PDAC 2008 convention, for his role in the discovery of Fruta del Norte, and he was jointly named the Northern Miner's Mining Man of the Year 2008. A generous contributor to the ANS including the Library Scanning Project, and the campaign to endow the Chair of the Executive Director, Dr. Barron was first elected as a Trustee in 2013, and serves on the Strategic Planning Committee.

Dr. Andrew M. Burnett, London, UK, Deputy Director of the British Museum 2002–2013, studied Ancient History and Philosophy at Balliol College in Oxford; received his MA from Oxford (1979), and his PhD at the University of London. He is author, co-author or editor of more than 25 books and more than 100 articles and book reviews principally in the field of Roman and Roman Provincial numismatics, and has been an ANS Member since 1982. Among his many distinctions is the ANS's 2007 Archer M. Huntington Award for excellence in Numismatic Scholarship, was appointed a CBE in the New Year's Honors of 2012, and is the President of the Royal Numismatic Society. Dr. Burnett was first elected as a Trustee in 2013, is a supporter of ANS Appeals, and serves on the Strategic Planning Committee.

Ms. Beth Deisher, Sylvania, OH, became an ANS Member in 1983, and was elected a Fellow in 1991. From 1985–2012 was editor of *Coin World*, and is the author or primary editor of 10 books, the most recent of which is *Cash In Your Coins: Selling the Rare Coins You've Inherited*, (June 2013). She is the recipient of the 2010 ANA Farran Zerbe Memorial Award; the Numismatic Literary Guild's Clemy Award (1995); the Burnett Anderson Memorial Award for journalistic excellence (2006); and was inducted into the Numismatic Hall of Fame in 2013. First elected to the ANS Board of Trustees in 2013, Ms. Deisher serves on the Strategic Planning Committee, and is a supporter of the ANS Appeals, most recently to the campaign to endow the Chair of the Executive Director.

Mr. Michael Gasvoda, Crown Point, IN, has been collecting coins for decades, specializing in Greek coinage of Magna Graecia and Sicily; renaissance medals; and US large cents. A retired environmental engineer, Mr. Gasvoda has been an ANS Member since 1996, was elected a Trustee in 2010, and has served as First Vice-President since 2014. He chairs the Strategic Planning,

Personnel, and Development Committees, is an ABSS Member, and is a generous supporter of ANS programs and Appeals, notably the campaign to endow the Chair of the Executive Director.

Prof. Kenneth W. Harl, New Orleans, LA, was a 1975 Eric P. Newman Graduate Summer Seminar student and joined the Society that same year. A Fellow since 1991, he was first elected to the Board Trustees in 2001, held the office of Second Vice-President annually since 2013, and serves on the Collections Committee. A Professor of History at Tulane University, Prof. Harl has written extensively about Roman provincial coins and in particular Asia Minor.

Mr. David Hendin, Nyack, NY, has been an ANS Member since 1976, a Fellow since 1992, a Life Fellow since 2001, a member of the ABSS since 2009 and an ANS Adjunct Curator since 2010. A specialist in weights and currency of the ancient Levant, especially Judean and biblical, local Roman provincial and Nabataean numismatics, Mr. Hendin is the author of *Cultural Change: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Coins of the Holy Land* (2011), *Guide to Biblical Coins* (2010), now in its fifth edition, *Ancient Scale Weights and Pre-Coinage Currency of the Near East* (2007) and 14 other books, as well as more than 45 articles in scholarly journals and book chapters. With Andrew Meadows he edited Ya'akov Meshorer's, *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum*. Hendin was the principal curator of the ANS's exhibit *Cultural Change: Coins of the Holy Land* at the New York Federal Reserve Bank Museum in 2010/11. He has received numerous honors including in 2013 the Gunnar Holst Numismatic Foundation Medal of the Swedish Numismatic Society at University of Gothenburg, Sweden, and has been a trustee of The Scripps Howard Foundation, The Kinsey Institute, and the American Friends of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. He lectures frequently on Biblical-related numismatics at educational institutions and conventions worldwide.

Ms. Mary N. Lannin, San Rafael, CA, is a noted editor of numismatic works, collaborating with authors from across the United States, Canada, and Europe. Her particular interest is in ancient Greek and Hellenistic coinage, and she actively supports the ANS's Seleucid coins digitization project. In 2014 she became a member of the Citizens Coinage Advisory Committee at House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi's recommendation, becoming chairperson of the Committee in 2015. Ms. Lannin is a former public-television producer and director (KT-CA-TV 1968–1978), California winery representative (Winery Associates 1982–2000), and founding partner

of Murphy-Goode Estate Winery. An ANS Member since 2010, she became a Life Member in 2012 and was elected Fellow in 2015. She is also a life member of the American Numismatic Association, a member the New York Numismatic Club, the Royal Numismatic Society, the Swiss Numismatic Society, the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium, the Austrian Numismatic Society, and is president of the San Francisco Ancient Numismatic Society, and vice-president of the Pacific Coast Numismatic Society.

Mr. Lawrence Schwimmer, Mountainview, CA, is a software engineer. An ANS Life Member since 2011, he was first elected to the Board of Trustees in 2013. Mr. Schwimmer is a supporter of ANS programs and serves on the Strategic Planning, and Collections Committees.

Mr. Mark D. Tomasko, New York, NY, a retired corporate attorney, joined the ANS as a Full Associate in 2005, and was elected a Fellow in 2015. He has donated to the collection – most recently the Asian cabinet – and is a generous donor to the general and annual appeals. Mr. Tomasko is a collector, writer, and researcher on bank note engraving, and has written many articles, given talks, and done museum exhibits on the subject. In 2012 the ANS published the 2nd edition (revised and expanded) of his book, *The Feel of Steel: the Art and History of Bank Note Engraving in the United States*. Mark is also a book collector and long-time member of the Grolier Club where he served on the Council for three terms and still serves on many committees.

Pursuant to Article III, Section 1. The Nominating and Governance Committee nominates the following individuals to serve as Fellows for vote by the Trustees at their October 29, 2016, Regular Meeting:

Mr. Mike Dunigan, Fort Worth TX, became an ANS Associate Member in 1981, a Life Member in 2001, and an ABSS Member in 2006. He is a strong supporter of ANS programs including ANS's Galas, Appeals and digitization projects. With a specialty in Mexico, Spain, Spanish Colonial, Philippines, and US coins, he is also an officer of the Mexican American Numismatic Association.

Mr. Erik Goldstein, Williamsburg, VA became an ANS Associate member in 2003 and a Life Member in 2004. The Curator of Mechanical Arts and Numismatics for The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, he is the curator of exhibits such as "Dollars, Farthings & Fables" for the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, and has written, and lectured on topics ranging from Colonial coinage to Colonial weapons of war including *The Swords of George Washington* as is the title of his 2016 book co-authored with Stuart C. Mowbray, and Brian Hendelson.

Pursuant to Article VI Sections 1 and 2 of the ANS By-Laws, the Committee nominates the following individuals to serve as Officers of the Board of Trustees, for vote by the Trustees:

Chairman of the Board and Assistant Secretary:

Kenneth L. Edlow

President: Sydney F. Martin

First Vice President: Mike Gasvoda

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Treasurer: Kenneth L. Edlow

Secretary: Ute Wartenberg Kagan, Executive Director

Assistant Treasurer: Natalie Jordan, Director of Finance and Administration

Pursuant to Article XVI of the American Numismatic Society By-Laws, to recommend for vote by the Fellows at the October 29, 2016 Annual Meeting, that the Mission Statement of the ANS, which is contained in the ANS By-Laws, Article II. be revised to read as follows:

MISSION

The mission of The American Numismatic Society shall be to promote and advance the study, research, and appreciation of numismatics.

Submitted respectfully,

Robert A. Kandel, Chairman,

Nominating and Governance Committee

ANS Publications Honored by Numismatic Literary Guild

ANS Publications was honored by the Numismatics Literary Guild (NLG) at the American Numismatic Association's 2016 World's Fair of Money (August 9–13), winning three awards, and getting four honorable mentions:

Winner, Best World Paper Money Book: Michael Bonine, *The Banknotes of the Imperial Bank of Persia: An Analysis of a Complex System with Catalogue*

Winner, Best Website Token and Medal Article: "Emancipatory Day Token: Sarah Ann Proud" on the ANS Pocket Change blog (anspocketchange.org), by Matt Wittmann

Winner, Clement F. Bailey Memorial Award, Best New Writer: Lara Fabian, for her *ANS Magazine* article, "The Starosselsky Collection: Imperial Histories and Cultural Currencies"

Extraordinary Merit went to Christopher McDowell (Colonial Newsletter editor) for his book, *Abel Buell*

and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coppers, Scott Miller for *Medallic Art of the American Numismatic Society, 1865–2014*, and to Nathan Elkins for *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage*. Extraordinary Merit also went to David Hill for his *ANS Magazine* column, "Archives."



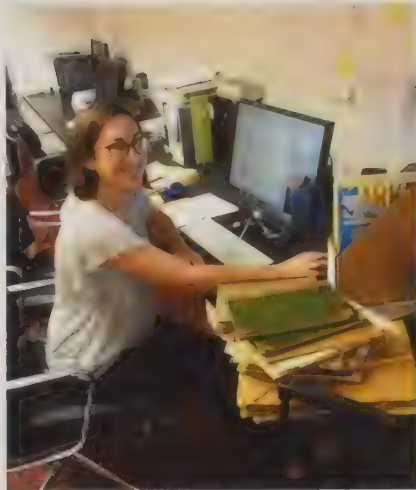
Vivek Gupta

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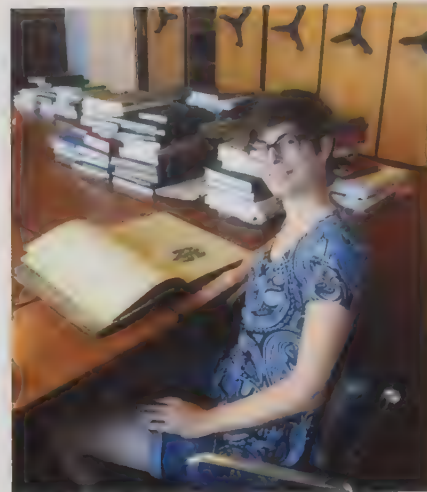
Vivek Gupta was appointed Assistant Curator/Fellow for Islamic and South Asian Coins in June 2016 for the academic year before completing his doctorate degree. During the course of this appointment, Mr. Gupta will oversee the efforts to further digitize the Islamic and South Asia coinages in the collection, a task that includes significant clean-up of the data presented in MANTIS and adding more information to our online resources. His research bridges Islamic and Indian archives as well as visual and literary cultures across time periods. Mr. Gupta is experienced in Arabic, Persian, and Hindi paleography and epigraphy and reads Sanskrit. He holds a B.A. from Washington University in St. Louis in Arabic and Comparative Literature and graduate degrees (M.A. and M.Phil.) from Columbia University and has served in positions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Freer[Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution.



Tiffany Camusci



McKenzie Krochmalny



Irene Elias

Student volunteers at the ANS Library—Summer 2016

It was a busy summer in the Harry W. Bass Jr. Library. In addition to the usual buzz of activity surrounding the annual summer seminar, we were joined by three college students who donated their time working on various special projects, advancing the work of the library while at the same time gaining experience with rare books, library cataloging, and other activities involving our day-to-day operations.

Tiffany Camusci is a Binghamton University student majoring in history with a concentration in American and East Asian studies. She also has experience working in the Queens Public Library. Tiffany worked on a number of projects, including one that eased our workload considerably: cataloging a large pile of new auction catalogs that were accumulating during the summer months. She also got a bit of a workout handling some of the library's largest books, identifying, labeling, and updating catalog records for them.

Irene Elias majors in classical studies at Swarthmore College, with a minor in chemistry. She participated in excavations at Vacone, Italy, where she helped to conserve 2,000-year-old mosaics. At the ANS Library, she has mostly devoted her time working with shelves of unidentified materials in our Rare Book Room, determining duplicates and cataloging stray items that can be reintegrated into the collection.

McKenzie Krochmalny attends New York University where she majors in anthropology and classical civilization. She also works in the university's Bobst Library. In addition to indexing and cataloging individual articles in some of the ANS Library's recently acquired scholarly journals, McKenzie helped to straighten out sections of the Rare Book Room, paying particular attention to the Library's collection of rare periodicals, arranging and

labeling the materials and updating their catalog records. We would like to thank Tiffany, Irene, and McKenzie for their hard work and also to commend them for the dedication and professionalism they showed during their time here. We wish them all the best in their future academic and professional work.

Oldest ANS Member Passes Away

On 1 August 2016, Léon Lacroix passed away at the age of 106 years. Born on 23 November 1909, Lacroix was Professor of Archaeology and Art History at the University of Liège in Belgium. He was a well-known expert on the iconography of Greek coinage. He is perhaps remembered best for his book on statues on coins, *Les Reproductions de Statues sur les Monnaies Grecques: La Statuaire Archaïque et Classique*, which appeared in 1949 and is still frequently cited by scholars. Professor Lacroix was an emeritus member of the Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Léon Lacroix had been a Corresponding Member of the American Numismatic Society, which he joined over seventy years ago, having been elected as an Associate Member in 1946.



Léon Lacroix

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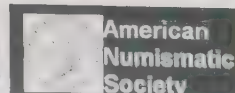
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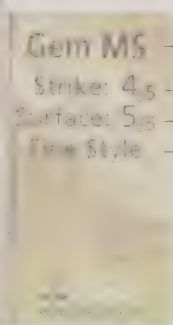
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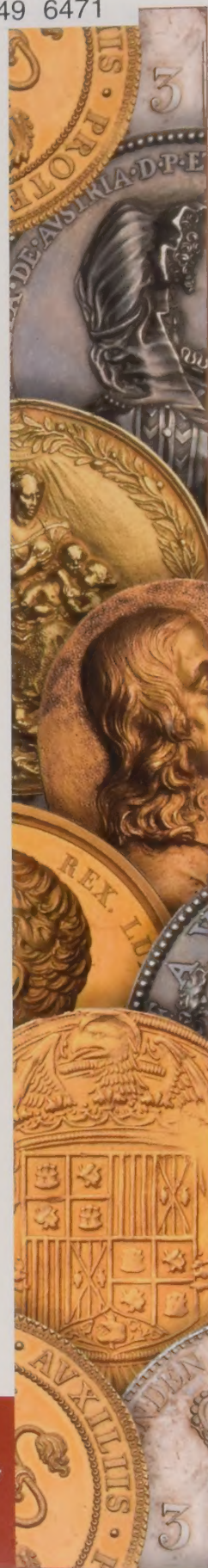
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